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# Daily Report

# East Europe

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*FBIS-EEU-94-037* *24 February 1994*

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## Berisha Criticizes Serbia on Kosovo, Bosnia

*AU2302181694 Tirana Radio Tirana Network in Albanian 1430 GMT 23 Feb 94*

[Text] [Announcer] Albanian President Sali Berisha signed the Partnership for Peace [PFP] initiative in Brussels today. First he met NATO Secretary General Manfred Woerner. For more details, we go over to a telephone report by Aida Shehu.

[Shehu] The participants in the meeting expressed a common concern over the situation in the Balkan region and noted that the attention of the international community is concentrated on Bosnia at a time when it is evident that the problem of Kosova is a key problem, and that without resolving it there can be no solution to the regional crisis. The participants also expressed concern over the division of Bosnia because, it was said, this division favors the aggressor and creates premises to set up new states through force.

The meeting also focused on the increasing expansion of the relations between Albania and NATO, as represented by the signing of the PFP initiative.

The Woerner-Berisha meeting lasted for about 30 minutes. In the presence of the North Atlantic Council, President Berisha gave a speech before signing the PFP agreement. After expressing his thanks to the North Atlantic Alliance for the invitation to our country to cooperate as a partner, Berisha stressed that he was confident that the decision to further cooperation with the former communist European countries taken at the NATO summit in January this year constitutes a historic step in the life of our continent and the whole international community. NATO is now the only military alliance in our part of the world that, because of its moral values and military potential, has the indisputable responsibility for peace, security, and European stability. NATO is today the only great hope to cure Europe and the international community from the Bosnian (?penitent) syndrome.

President Berisha later stressed that as a country fully interested in stable peace in the region, we should stress that in the last 20 months developments at the military level, together with the many defeats of the negotiations, clearly testify that dividing Bosnia is a hopeless option to end the war and establish peace, and that the time may have come to replace it with another option that respects the principles of preserving Bosnia's integrity, the right of the people to return to their centuries-long hearths, and does not reward the aggressor. President Berisha said that though the defense of these principles seems difficult at first sight, he thought that this was the only way to establish peace and that it was many times more productive than the acceptance and implementation of contrary principles.

President Berisha reminded those present that one of the great knots of the present Balkan crisis is undoubtedly the problem of Kosova. There should be no solution to the Balkan crisis without solving the Kosova issue. That is why Berisha asked them that this question, which could at any moment trigger a Balkan war, be accorded the proper gravity and the dimensions that it possesses. For this reason, he said, I consider it very important to link the sanctions on Serbia to the situation created by Serbia in Kosova, to dispatch UN monitors to the province, and to exert pressure on Serbia so as to start negotiations with the legitimate representatives of this province within the framework of the Geneva conference, as well as to make a clear inventory for the return of all the violently seized institutions and to solve its status by respecting the human and national rights of 2 million Albanians who live in their ancient territories.

President of the Republic of Albania Sali Berisha signed the PFP agreement at 1045 in the presence of the North Atlantic Council members.

## Press Reports Split in FYROM Ethnic Party

*AU2202155494 Tirana RILINDJA in Albanian 16 Feb 94 p 3*

[R.T., B.S., I.A. report: "Two Leaderships, Two Parties"]

[Text] Tetovo, Feb [dateline as published]—The second early congress of the Party of Democratic Prosperity [PDP] was held in the hall of the Tetovo House of Culture. There were arguments and disagreements at the start of the meeting over the status of the congress delegates. One side demanded that only those elected by branches and subbranches during the recent elections should be delegates. The other side demanded that all those falling under the definition of Article 37 of the PDP Statute could be delegates. According to this article, delegates elected by the branches and subbranches, members of the PDP Presidium, members of the PDP Central Assembly, members of the PDP Supervisory Council, and deputies and ministers representing the PDP in the parliament and Macedonian Government [The Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia—FYROM] can be congress delegates with full voting rights. After the congress participants voted for a working presidium and also to override the PDP Statute, thus denying votes to deputies, the members of the government and a section of the delegates demonstratively left the meeting. The delegation of the Kosovo Democratic alliance, consisting of Dr. Ali Aliu, Dr. Rexhep Gjergji, and Edita Tahiri, also left the meeting. The congress continued its proceedings with those remaining in the hall, which, according to the new rules, were only delegates elected by branches and subbranches and the chairmen of branches in Macedonia and in the diaspora, but who formed a quorum.

### The Party's Degeneration

After the congress's working groups and commissions were elected, the greetings telegram to the congress from Kosova Prime Minister Bujar Bukoshi was read out. Dritan Shehu, general secretary of the Albanian Democratic Party, greeted the congress, calling it very important for the Albanians in Macedonia and a contribution

to realizing human rights on the basis of the Helsinki Charter and the documents of the CSCE and to maintaining peace and stability in Macedonia, the Balkans, and the world. Dritan Shehu said in his speech, among other things, that a free vote is one that decides who is elected and where. Aleksander Xinho greeted the congress for the Albanian Republican Party, and said that it is important for the party to emerge strengthened from this congress and that he felt himself obliged to help the congress to proceed smoothly.

Muhamet Bicaj, Kosova education minister, said that the only people to emerge disappointed from this congress will be those who want the PDP's destruction. There are no Albanians who want this party weaker. On the contrary, they want it to be strengthened. The Albanians must cultivate pluralism and broad hearts, because narrowmindedness is a damaging handicap. Milaim Fejziu, chairman of the Council for the Defense of Human Rights and Freedoms; Erdogan Sarac, chairman of the Turkish Democratic Party, the cardiologist Jusuf Rexhepi, and the actor Xhevat Limani also greeted the congress.

Menduh Thaci, chairman of the PDP's Tetovo branch, presented the report on the party's work between the two congresses, and said among other things that the PDP was formed as part of a campaign of many years' resistance to inequality, assimilation, and repression, and as part of the successful efforts of patriots to raise the national and political awareness of the Albanians of these parts. By confronting the challenge of the rites of passage of the political system, despite all the visible and invisible traps, the PDP has passed the first test of democracy. I congratulate it on its success in the multiparty elections, in which it won 22 parliamentary seats in the Macedonian parliament, creating the opportunity for institutionalized political activity on the basis of its program. It is possible for a political party to reduce the scope of its interests to a ridiculous and absurd minimum, because of dogmatism, organization, ignorance, nepotism, careerism, personal or group interests, or mistaken judgments and alliances. The work of a political party is assessed by results, in other words by the maximilization of the interests of the people, social stratum, or nation that it represents. One might ask whether the PDP has done this. If we analyze the internal situation, the Albanians today cannot influence organizational matters of the state structure and their own position in the system. The communes exercise ceremonial functions, while the albanians have the status of a minority under the Constitutions. Their position in the parliament cannot be considered to be independent, because they are an appendix to another political party, with which they entered a coalition without a platform, something which is considered a strategic mistake.

In Macedonian foreign policy, the Albanians do not even figure as a factor requiring consultation. The Albanian language media are a mixture of official reports, kitsch, and disinformation. The situation is similar in other fields of life: in the economy, security, culture, sport, entertainment, etc. The degeneration of a project, a movement, or a party begins when general interests are seen as personal or group interests. There are many who assert that the PDP has fallen victim to such a decline.

The PDP has called an early congress to demonstrate the moral and political strength of the PDP and the Albanians for speedy regeneration. We hope this will be a congress of fast renewal, Menduh Thaci said in conclusion.

A debate lasting many hours then followed, offering different comments and proposals about the PDP's future policy. The congress elected a 55-member Central Assembly, and this Central Assembly, in a closed session, elected a 14-member presidium from among its ranks. Arber Xhaferi was elected PDP chairman, Nexhibe Delloshi, Menduh Thaci, and Shazim Mehmeti were elected deputy chairmen, and Sefedin Duka was elected secretary. The Assembly elected a nine- member Supervisory Council.

The congress ended its proceedings after midnight, at 0220.

### The Other Congress

The members of the congress who demanded respect for the statute as the PDP's basic document, after leaving the hall where the congress was being held, organized their own early PDP congress in the hall of the Tetovo Communal Assembly. After verifying the status of participants and electing a presidium and working groups, Ilir Luma, member of the Central Assembly, presented the report on the work of the PDP between the two congresses. Among other things, the report stressed the successes achieved by the party in the period under review and the realization of the Albanians' demands for sovereignty and equality. The report emphasized the successes in the parliamentary elections, in building the coalition government, in cooperation with other Albanian parties in the former Yugoslavia, in building a common strategy for action, and in affirming the Albanian cause in the international arena. The report also stressed the weaknesses that have harmed the party and led to a loss of influence among the people. These involved shortcomings of organization and coordination, and failures to harmonize standpoints between the party and the parliamentary group, to always present a united front on the international scene, and to respect agreements, program documents, etc. For this reason, it became necessary to hold this early congress, so that we my achieve our programmed goals with new people who enjoy the trust of the membership.

On the basis of a vote, the congress confirmed the mandates of the PDP Central Assembly, 37 of whose 55 members were present. The congress elected eleven members of a 15-member presidium (two seats were left for Gostivar, one for Kumanovo, and one for Struga, which will send delegates later). The Central Assembly elected Dr. Xheladin Murati, deputy chairman of the

Macedonian parliament, as PDP chairman, and Naser Zymberi as secretary, while two deputy chairmen are to be elected later.

The congress ended its proceedings at 2300. This congress did not approve a new program and statute, because those used hitherto remain in force.

Despite all the hopes and wishes that the PDP's crisis would be overcome and that this party would remain united as the main force defending the sovereignty, identity, and political will of the Albanians in Macedonia, this did not happen, and the PDP Second Congress will go down in history as a congress of division. The PDP split definitively into two currents, into two large sections, and a bitter struggle between the two is expected over which will represent the continuity and inherit the legality and legitimacy of the PDP. It is certain that this will weaken the political strength of the Albanians as a people in Macedonia, that the Albanians will not be able to produce joint candidates in the local and Macedonian parties will exploit this disarray.

## President Havel Discusses Far East Visit

*AU2302122494 Prague LIDOVE NOVINY in Czech 18 Feb 94 p 7*

[Interview with President Vaclav Havel by Milan Slezak; place and date not given: "Apropos Gateways, Freedom, and Tolerance"]

[Text] [Slezak] Mr. President, you and Minister Zieleniec referred in Bangkok to our republic's endeavor to become the gateway to a unified Central European market for Thailand. Do you think that we have done enough to ensure that the door hanging in this gateway does not have squeaky hinges? And, do you think that our neighbors will willingly entrust us with the mandate of chief doorkeeper?

[Havel] The idea of a gateway was expressed during our meeting with the Thai prime minister. It was put forward by our side, and the prime minister and the finance minister welcomed it very much.

In my opinion, at the international level, it means nothing more than creating mutually favorable conditions for the economic presence of various companies and banks in Prague. And, as soon as the Thai companies become established in our country, they will then—understandably—be able to infiltrate the market around us, in this case, CEFTA (Central European Free Trade Zone—LIDOVE NOVINY note). It will then depend not so much on the governments, but on contacts between individual economic entities.

For example, when a bank wants to establish a branch in Central Europe, it hesitates and wonders whether it should do so in Vienna, Prague, Warsaw, or elsewhere. If we create a favorable climate by means of beneficial political and legislative conditions, it will locate its new branch in our country and we will become its base for the whole of the surrounding region.

The same applies vice versa for our potential presence in Thailand, a country that is, for various reasons, most propitious for this purpose. This could mean a starting point for activity in other countries or—as the case may be—a starting point for triangular operations in which the Czech Republic and Thailand conduct business together in third countries.

It is definitely not perceived as a contractual system involving several countries where this or that country will represent other countries.

[Slezak] You are returning from Asia. Journalists and political scientists who deal with Asia from India to Japan are now arguing about whether the economic boom will necessarily lead the countries of this region to a point where they will have to adopt a Western-type political model. That is: Not just a parliamentary democracy, often characterized by local customs and foibles, but also emphasis on human rights. Some experts maintain that the attempts to graft something considerably different onto a cultural environment which has been evolving for a thousand years cannot succeed, and if it does, then only for a short time. It seems that the Thai example has confirmed the opposite theory....

[Havel] That is a subject that is indeed being much discussed—not only among European or U.S. observers, but also among the politicians of that region. The Thai prime minister, for example, is of the opinion that the development of human rights and the development of the economy should—and must—go hand-in-hand. He was the inspiration behind the Bangkok Conference, which was devoted to this very idea. Other leaders allude to their specific traditions and say that first it is necessary to achieve a certain standard of living, a certain economic development, and only then is it possible—as the case may be—to intensify democracy and enhance respect for human rights.

I will not presume to judge the issue. But, something in me—most likely instinctively—tells me that it is perhaps impossible for a flourishing economy to endure and enjoy good prospects without political freedoms. The market, which is based on the free activity of free economic entities, has its own particular freedom. Under conditions that curb political freedom, this freedom will begin to seem restricted. On the other hand, the market and the free game of market forces can only exist if there are rules that are respected by everyone. This means, respect for rights.

It is hard to say, but I am more inclined toward the view that, although democracy has taken hold in these countries with greater difficulty than it did throughout the Euro-American world, it must and will—despite this—accompany the economic development of these countries. It is true that, in its early stages, economic development progressed here under the conditions of an authoritarian system. However, that does not seem to me to be possible forever.

I think that the integrative efforts being made here, as in Europe, will also move in this direction. That is, apart from rules for a freer exchange of goods and similar economic measures, a kind of political requirement has always been set: The more advanced countries in this sphere may exert a little pressure on those who, within the framework of the integrative grouping, are less advanced.

[Slezak] Mr. President, in Varanasi, which you visited last week, there once lived a poet and a mystic called Kabir, who merged elements of Hinduism and Islam in his work and who advocated love and tolerance toward God and people. There are many such examples in Indian history. Nevertheless, the brutal religious pogroms in India present a sharp contrast to the remarkable tolerance in the philosophical sphere. These pogroms return again and again. A tiny spark is enough and years-long coexistence in peace and harmony is forgotten in an instant.

When you were awarded the Indira Ghandi Prize, you spoke about the prospects for coexistence among various

cultures. It seems to me that it will be a very long time yet before the individual cultural spheres come together and that more than one tiny "Indian- type" spark will be ignited. It also seems to me that you are a far greater optimist in this respect.

[Havel] In India and Thailand I made two speeches in which I outlined my views on the outlook for today's world and also on what I consider to be a better alternative, an alternative providing the only guarantee that the world will be able to confront the terrible dangers facing it. The fact that I outlined the better alternative did not mean that I ruled out the possibility that the worse one could occur. Of course, this may happen. But it would have catastrophic consequences for the whole world.

It is true that this ambiguous tradition belongs to Indian culture. On the one hand, an ecumenical ideal—to put it simply—manifests itself there again and again, an ideal of conciliation and peaceful coexistence. The most celebrated exponent of this ideal in the modern era was Ghandi, who reconciled Hindus with Moslems....

[Slezak] ....and carried in his pack both the Bhagavadgita and the Koran....

[Havel] Yes, yes.

On the other hand, religious conflicts are manifesting themselves there again and again. The disintegration of British India into Pakistan, Bangladesh, and India was caused by the inability to coexist. We still see the disastrous consequences of this division today—in Kashmir, the Punjab, and elsewhere. We also saw it in Calcutta.

There are two currents contending with each other in this region—and also in another form in Europe. After all, there is again a kind of race between the integrative efforts based on the ideal of civic coexistence and the newly awakening nationalism. This is not only happening in the postcommunist world, but also in the Western world.

The fact is—and I also said this in my speech in Bangkok—that there is some universalist idea in the very foundations of all religions; no hostility is enshrined there against anyone who believes in another god. I spoke about this once in Egypt with President Mubarak who said quite sternly that Islamic fundamentalism is a betrayal of Islam and that it is at variance with all of its original ideals.

When all is said and done, we can also see it in Christianity. Fortunately, many centuries have passed since that time—but terrible genocides were once also perpetrated under the banner of Christianity.

[Slezak] I am thinking about other such strange associations: The brutal medieval Japanese samurai took delight in Buddhism and it did not bother them in the least that this benign doctrine forbids the killing of all live beings, including—naturally—people....

Since we have moved onto Buddhism: A man—and especially a very busy man—often desires the peace and quiet of cloistered seclusion. Do you feel this way? If the answer is yes, would you choose any of the Buddhist monasteries we visited recently for your contemplation?

[Havel] My respect for various cultures and their specific traditions and environments does not stretch so far that I would feel the need to adapt to them and turn into someone else. When I want to be alone and think, I am happiest at Hradecek [his country cottage in East Bohemia].

[Slezak] Do you remember what in India and Thailand most surprised you? What most amused you and most disappointed you?

[Havel] What surprised me? I was surprised, for example, by the immense interest, warmth, and kindness with which I and our entire delegation were received both in India and Thailand. Let us try to picture this the other way round. Let us imagine that the representative of a small, 10-million strong South Asian state—a state about which half of our citizens know nothing or even where it is—comes to our country. I really find it hard to imagine that he would be received with such respect and such interest, not only by the politicians, but also by the public. I knew that these are people who respect their guests. But the level of hospitality really surprised me.

I cannot say what amused me, because I could cause a political incident.

And what....?

[Slezak] Disappointed you.

[Havel] What disappointed me... (a 10-second pause; the president is deep in thought) Nothing!

[Slezak] Mr. President, thank you for the interview. (The interview was recorded on board the flight from Thailand to Prague. The president looked tired, but he made no reference at all to his rib injury during the 25-minute interview.)

### Foreign Minister Moravcik Submits Resignation

*LD2402104294 Bratislava Rozhlasova Stanica Slovensko Network in Slovak 0900 GMT 24 Feb 94*

[Text] Slovak Foreign Minister Jozef Moravcik is resigning. He has personally delivered his resignation letter to President Michal Kovac.

According to (?confirmed) information, the president will respond Moravcik's resignation only after he has spoken with Prime Minister Vladimir Meciar, who is to return tomorrow from his official visit to China and Thailand.

### Primakov Briefed on Intelligence Cooperation Pact

*LD2302200994 Bratislava Rozhlasova Stanica Slovensko Network in Slovak 1730 GMT 23 Feb 94*

[Excerpts] Yevgeniy Primakov, director of the counterintelligence service of the Russian Federation, is on a short visit to Bratislava. [passage omitted]

President Michal Kovac received Yevgeniy Primakov in the afternoon. He briefed the Russian guest about the fact that the Slovak intelligence service has concluded an agreement with the counterintelligence service of the Russian Federation. The agreement concerns above all the exchange of employees in charge of contacts between the two services. The Slovak intelligence service keeps similar contacts with other intelligence services.

Presidential spokesman Anton Bodis told us that during talks the view was voiced that our cooperation will not be used against third countries.

After the talks we asked Yevgeniy Primakov to comment on the latest information concerning the fact that Russian spying activities had been uncovered in the United States.

[Begin Primakov recording in Russian, fading to Slovak translation] On this subject I can only say that I heard this information only after my arrival here. I have no knowledge of those names, I have never heard them, so it is obvious that I cannot tell you anything before my return to Moscow. [end recording]

### Assembly Deputy Speaker Discusses Visit, Pact

*LD2302150594 Bratislava Rozhlasova Stanica Slovensko Network in Slovak 1100 GMT 23 Feb 94*

[Text] Today in Bratislava, Augustin Marian Husak, deputy speaker of the National Council of the Slovak Republic, received in the parliament building Yevgeniy Primakov, director of the Foreign Intelligence Service of the Russian Federation. (Tatyana Samolis), Yevgeniy Primakov's spokeswoman, stressed that talks on cooperation between Russian and Slovak intelligence services were in no case aimed against third countries. She described the fight against international crime as forming the priority area of cooperation. At the same time, she denied that the talks had any connection with the present political situation in Slovakia, one of the reasons being that the visit was prepared some time ago. Later, our editor Ivan Samel interviewed Augustin Marian Huska about the content of the discussion:

[Begin recording] [Huska] The main concern of the discussion was to ensure that such a delicate area as the area of mutual relations in the field of information, the provision of confidential information, and the like assumes a level corresponding to that existing in democratic countries. We talked about the geopolitical situation of Slovakia and Russia. We expressed our desire that we no longer support the polarity that existed in the world previously.

[Samel] You talked about geopolitical interests. Did you also hear any negative comments concerning possible Slovakia's entry into NATO?

[Huska] We made it on the whole quite clear that there was in the Slovak National Council a majority will to achieve integration in European economic and defense structures. Our guest did not voice any objections to it.

[Samel] Did you talk only about cooperation between the intelligence services at a political level, or were consultations on the fight against drugs and similar matters also discussed?

[Huska] One could say that topic formed the biggest part of the problem where cooperation is needed most. We both have recognized that we are not professional enough to conduct the fight against organized international crime.

[Samel] Did you also talk about some questions concerning the internal political situation in this country, and did this visit have any connection with this situation?

[Huska] We talked about these matters only marginally in the sense that stability is very fragile or, to put it better, that the political situation both in this country and in Russia is unstable and that what we are endeavoring to achieve in Slovakia is to create a consensus among political parties and movements so that the interest of the state becomes a category that is not subject to contention between individual political forces.

[Samel] Do you not regard it as dangerous to a certain degree to establish certain contacts at this delicate level precisely in the situation of instability, and here I have in mind instability in Russia?

[Huska] The problem lies simply in whether we should wait until various sections of Russian or Chechen mafias establish themselves in this country.

[Samel] That is clear from our viewpoint, but what was the interest on the Russian side?

[Huska] To check to what extent parliamentary bodies indentify themselves with the overall trend towards the elimination of polarization in Europe, with the overall trend towards Europe drawing closer together, and

towards the protection of state interests. The notion about the inviolability of frontiers made by both sides was very important. [end recording]

## Meciar on Russian Participation in Nuclear Program

*AU2302155994 Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak 21 Feb 94 pp 1, 12*

[Article by Lubo Rabay in Beijing: "Asian Opportunity"]

[Excerpt] [passage omitted] The Slovak delegation made use of the 16-hour flight to Beijing with stopovers in Moscow and Tashkent for working meetings with representatives of Russia and Uzbekistan. As Prime Minister Meciar confirmed to us later on the plane, the talks with Russian Deputy Prime Minister Y. F. Yarov concerned, above all, the issue of reducing Slovakia's trade deficit with Russia, which amounts to approximately 30 billion [Slovak korunas]. "In the course of 1993 we had prepared 26 legal documents in the interest of a new quality of cooperation between Russia and Slovakia. The time has finally come to apply them in practice," Vladimir Meciar stressed.

The talks at Moscow airport also concerned privatization plans and, in particular, further cooperation in nuclear engineering. "The Russians are ready to accept payment in kind for nuclear fuel and they will also accept spent fuel from us," Vladimir Meciar specified in reply to a question from PRAVDA. "The issue of Russian participation in the completion of the Mochovce nuclear power station remains disputed. While the first and the second unit are 90 percent complete, the question of the other two units remains open. The Russians' interest in further participation in the Slovak nuclear program was emphasized in exceptionally strong terms. They offered us an interest-free loan of $100 million."

In view of the known fact that French and German partners are to participate in the completion of the first two units of the Mochovce nuclear power station, which is to be covered by a credit of 1.3 billion German marks, we asked how the nuclear safety of the other two units should be dealt with, under this Russian proposal. "The technology of the power station would be Russian but the safety equipment would be from Siemens. This would be interesting for the Russian side because they would then be able to use this model in building and rebuilding their own nuclear power stations." [passage omitted]

## Fourth Installment of Moravcik's Policy Report

*AU2302091094 Bratislava SLOVENSKY DENNIK in Slovak 7 Feb 94 p 7*

[Fourth installment of "Report on the Fulfillment of Tasks of the Slovak Republic's Foreign Policy," delivered by Slovak Foreign Minister Moravcik to parliament in Bratislava on 2 February: "Slovakia in the World (IV)"]

[Text]

### 2.1 Relations With Neighbors

One of the most important tasks in the bilateral sphere and in foreign policy, in general, was the formation and maintenance of good relations with neighboring countries. Although our cooperation has been gradually acquiring an international character, the Czech Republic remained our most important partner. The tendency to standardize our mutual relations and gradually eliminate the specific features is gaining in strength particularly on the Czech side. Certain international appearances, however, of the Czech Republic in support of the Slovak Republic can be classified as signs of good cooperation.

The volume of mutual trade indicates a halt in the original decline that followed the partition of the federation. A better and broader utilization of the customs union could favorably affect the speed and quality of the incorporation into the Western integration structures. The Treaty on a Temporary License To Conduct Business for Natural and Legal Persons Who Conduct Business on the Territory of the Other Republic of the Former Federation After 31 December 1993 was added at the end of the year to the complex of the treaties signed with the Czech Republic so far. On the whole, the division of the property of the former federation (98 percent completed) can also be rated favorably, although the most recent problems are not getting solved as fast as desired.

The talks on an umbrella agreement regarding the border regime between the Slovak Republic and the Czech Republic have progressed slowly because of the difference in approach to this issue by the two parties. The problem of setting the amount of administrative fees has been solved, however, for the applications by citizens for permanent or long-term residence on the territory of the other republic.

To designate the common border, a Slovak-Czech demarcation commission has been established, which managed to define successfully the international border between the Slovak Republic and the Czech Republic. The last four questionable instances in this area are currently being solved.

The mutual cultural ties are very close; albeit, the reduction of the information flow and the mutual communication threatens their firmness. Because Slovakia wishes to continue presenting its culture to the citizens of the Czech Republic and reinforce the spiritual identity of the expatriate community, fundamental steps were taken to initiate the work of a Slovak Cultural Center in Prague beginning on 1 January 1994.

During the year, several working meetings of representatives of the two states at all levels took place, including three meetings of the presidents.

Despite all endeavors and conciliatory measures by the Slovak Republic, the mutual mistrust and tense atmosphere in relations with the Hungarian Republic could not be overcome. This is indicated especially by the

approach taken by the Hungarian side, which was clearly dictated by the effort to challenge the credibility of Slovakia at international forums, the emphasis put on the problem of the rights of the Hungarian ethnic minority by the unnecessary dramatization of some less considerate unpremeditated steps by the Slovak side (the removal of signs, for instance), and the fueling of the irredentist tendencies of some representatives of the Hungarian parties in Slovakia. Hungarian diplomacy used international forums to complicate the starting position of Slovakia (CSCE, Council of Europe, Central European Initiative), and this stand adversely marked the entire development of mutual relations.

The decidedly negative interpretation of the construction of the Gabcikovo hydroelectric project was successfully vanquished, however, and depoliticized by submitting the conflict for decision by the International Court of Justice at The Hague. The reliability of the arguments by the Hungarian Republic has diminished recently as regards the need for the reinforcement of the defense and the status of the Hungarian ethnic minorities in the neighboring countries—that is, also in Slovakia.

Because of the aforementioned tension in mutual relations, no official highest-level meetings have taken place this year, except for some brief meetings of the prime ministers and foreign ministers at multilateral forums and the participation of our supreme representatives at the funeral of the deceased Hungarian Prime Minister J. Antall.

The basis for mutual relations with the Polish Republic is a good neighborhood without any open problems and joint efforts to integrate into the West European structures. Nonetheless, not all activities have been conducted according to the expectations of both parties, as the Polish partners reckon with a more active part on our side. The volume of trade declined, which is a result of the restructuring of both economies and also the absence of treaties in the economic sphere. A recovery in this area should be helped by the opening of new border crossings according to the schedule approved by the government in October.

A certain revival in our relations can be expected in the near future because treaties are ready on cross-border cooperation, the small border contact, and we are preparing the opening of a Slovak institute in Warsaw. The activity in other sectors leaves something to be desired.

Of the Polish officials, President Walesa visited Slovakia with the Polish foreign minister on the occasion of the inauguration of the president. Deputy Prime Minister R. Kovac visited Poland.

The development of relations with Austria continued its favorable trend. Contacts have been vitalized at all levels and in all areas because, from the very beginning, the Slovak diplomacy has been aware of the specific character of cooperation with this country, which is our only neighbor with a developed market economy and democratioc traditions, and a future member of the European Union. The foreign political importance of Austria increased also by many countries accrediting their ambassadors to the Slovak Republic in Vienna because many foreign observers and journalists also operate from there. Moreover, Vienna is the seat of numerous international organizations.

The official visits by the Slovak prime minister to Austria and the Austrian federal president and the foreign minister to the Slovak Republic helped in the quest for possibilities of cooperation, as did the participation of Slovak officials at the international undertakings in Vienna (UN Human Rights Conference, Council of Europe Summit, and so forth). International ties have also developed briskly, and this was reflected in the signing of numerous treaties on cooperation.

Austria has become the largest foreign investor in Slovakia and the third-largest business partner, but Slovakia has not managed to eliminate the mutual trade deficit. The interchange between the infrastructures of the two countries has also progressed at a slow pace. The feeling of an environmental threat to Austria on the part of Slovakia, to which some ambiguous statements from our side contributed, remains an open question. The problems with filling the post of Slovak ambassador to Austria also had an adverse effect on our mutual relations.

The specific feature of our relations with Ukraine lies in the fact that ties were established between two new states with a similar state-forming process and political and economic problems. In the course of 1993, practically all spheres of political, economic, and cultural life became active as the appropriate treaties were drafted. The Treaty on Good Neighborliness, Friendly Relations, and Cooperation merits special mention, as do the treaties on problems concerning the state border, including the readmission treaty, and several ministerial treaties.

We have managed neither to settle the matter of permeability of the state border with Ukraine nor to process a concept of new border crossings. The border problems have been further complicated by the disaster on the Uh River.

The Slovak president visited Kiev, and numerous meetings took place between Cabinet members and their Ukrainian partners.

### 2.2 Relations With the European Union

Another priority of foreign policy of the Slovak Republic has been and remains the integration into the West European political, economic, and security structures. We have advanced on the road to this objective by signing the European (Association) Treaty on the association of the Slovak Republic with the European Union in October 1993. For this reason, we have paid extraordinary attention also to the establishment of good bilateral relations with individual countries of the European Twelve.

The relations with our former neighbor, the FRG, maintained their somewhat privileged nature.

A material framework of the bilateral relations is formed by the Treaty on Good Neighborliness and Cooperation Between the Czech and Slovak Federal Republic and the FRG, on the basis of which an actualization—that is, signing of additional treaties—is being discussed.

The most significant contact actions have probably been the visit by the Slovak president to the FRG, the meeting between the foreign ministers, and numerous meetings and talks between other ministers. Closer ties have also been formed between the parliaments of the two countries.

The ties between the Slovak Republic and the individual Bundeslaender have been developing well, particularly with Bavaria, where the cooperation of individual sectors is further advanced within the framework of the Slovak-Bavarian working team. The visit by Slovak Prime Minister Meciar to Munich, where he also met with Bavarian Prime Minister E. Stoiber, confirmed the solid basis for such cooperation. Recently, we have registered an increased interest in the Slovak Republic on the part of other FRG laender as demonstrated by the visits of delegations from Baden-Wuerttemberg and North Rhine-Westphalia to Bratislava.

In the second half of the year, the interest of the FRG in cooperation with the Slovak Republic in the economic sphere appreciably increased. This is also corroborated by the establishment of a German economic mission in Bratislava and a branch office of the Kreditny ustav pre obnovu a rozvoj [Credit Institute for Reconstruction and Development] at the FRG Embassy in Bratislava. In October 1993, the FRG assumed second place in the volume of investment in the Slovak economy and is the second-largest trade partner of the Slovak Republic. There was very active communication on the level of the business sphere.

The compensation to Slovak citizens, former concentration-camp prisoners, remains an open question. The German side holds a relatively reserved stand and points out the complex internal political economic situation. Similarly, the question of employment of Slovak citizens working on contract in the FRG must be resolved, while an increase to numbers comparable with other Visegrad Four countries could not be attained so far.

During the short time of the existence of an independent representation office of the Slovak Republic, we have succeeded in building an efficient representation and a wide network of contacts. Nonetheless, the appointment of a Slovak ambassador to the FRG has not yet been resolved. This state of affairs is perceived adversely by the German side, and, to a certain degree, it refutes the attained results.

The level of mutual relations with France rose after the emergence of the Slovak Republic on 1 January 1993. That is testified to by the extensive contact activity by members of the Slovak Government. The fundamental objective of Slovak foreign policy concerning France in 1993 was the use of the potential of the declared French political support for the endeavors of Slovakia to integrate into the European integration structures in the admission into the Council of Europe, the signing of the European Treaty on Association of the Slovak Republic with the European Union, and the development of high-level bilateral contacts.

France does not see any difference in the readiness of the Visegrad Four countries to join NATO and the Western European Union, but for now it will not support their membership in these structures.

Regarding the Slovak Republic, France points out the uncertain political and economic situation, ambiguities in legislation, obfuscated privatization, and unsolved problems in the sphere of minority policy.

In this context, it must be pointed out that the French partners are not quite clear about the "rules of the game"; the cooperation rules have not been defined, and they feel that they are not treated as equals. Following the official visits by then Foreign Minister Roland Dumas and Minister Delegate for European Affairs Alain Lamassoure to the Slovak Republic, and the official visit by the Slovak foreign minister to France in 1993, the Slovak Foreign Ministry plans for 1994 a meeting of presidents and prime ministers of the two countries.

Parliamentary cooperation has developed between individual sectors—interior, defense, education (Treaty on Cooperation in the Area of Youth, Physical Education, and Sport was signed on 1 November 1993), and others.

Despite the cutback in the sphere of technical assistance, several projects have been realized in the Slovak Republic in 1993, particularly in the spheres of education, culture, environmental protection, agriculture, and public administration.

There are no unsolved issues in the sphere of bilateral relations between Great Britain and Slovakia. A significant stimulus for the development of the relationship was the visit by the prime minister to London on 8 March 1993. He met with British Prime Minister John Major; Michael Heseltine, British president of the Board of Trade; EBRD [European Bank for Reconstruction and Development] President Jacques Attali; and representatives of the Confederation of British Industry. Other significant contacts include the visit by Archibald Hamilton, minister of state for armed forces, to the Slovak Republic, and several meetings between other ministers.

From the political point of view, Great Britain is an important partner as a member of the European structures the Slovak Republic is interested in joining (European Union, NATO, Western European Union). The interests of Britain differ in certain instances from those of other members of these groupings and often coincide

with the interests of the Slovak Republic (for example, expansion of the European Union membership, liberalization of trade).

The assistance provided by Great Britain through the Know-How fund in many spheres of public administration is considerable.

The image of Slovakia in the UK has somewhat improved during the year. Although the not-very-good economic situation is still pointed out, and the domestic political situation is not characterized as stable, the membership of Slovakia in international organizations, to which the country was admitted during 1993, has been emphasized all the time more frequently.

The significant official visits by our top-ranking representatives to Belgium confirmed our endeavors to integrate into the European and Euro-Atlantic structures. There was the visit by the Slovak president on the occasion of the funeral of King Baudouin I and the meetings during his visit to NATO, the meeting between the Slovak prime minister and his Belgian counterpart, and the talks between the Slovak foreign minister and his Belgian counterpart. There were ties established also between individual ministers.

Relations between the two countries can be described as problem-free.

The development of relations with Luxembourg took a similar course. Although the intensity of contacts was not very high, a visit by the heir to the throne, Prince Henri, to the Slovak Republic took place, and a working visit to Luxembourg by the Slovak prime minister. Various important economic and business contacts were established on these occasions.

After 1 January 1993, contacts with the Netherlands generally amplified, as witnessed by the official visit by Dutch Foreign Minister Kooijmans to the Slovak Republic, which created the framework for further development of mutual cooperation. Certain favorable shifts in Dutch public opinion regarding the Slovak Republic were registered. The Slovak Republic used within the framework of the PSO [expansion unknown] bilateral noninvestment aid in the amount of 3 million Dutch guilders.

The activities of the Foreign Ministry were aimed in the relationship with Greece at forming prerequisites for an actual support for Slovak endeavors to integrate quickly into the European structures with respect to the Greek chairmanship of the European Union beginning on 1 January 1994. These questions and bilateral relations were on the agenda of the meeting of foreign ministers of the two countries in Athens in June.

In the course of 1993, fundamental ties were established to Spain. Except for the meeting between foreign ministers at the 48th UN General Assembly, however, no significant contacts took place, and the present level of mutual relations is not satisfactory. Cooperation in the economic sphere is characterized by passivity on both sides and negligible interest in developing actual contacts, while such an intensification could be interesting for us because of the experience of Spain with a transformation of the economy. Contractual relations are also stagnating. A certain improvement could be detected in the contacts between the Ministries of the Economy, Education and Science, and Culture.

Our relations with Portugal can be characterized in a similar manner, despite a certain promise of an improvement by occasional highest-level meetings at multilateral forums: a meeting between the presidents in Washington, the prime ministers in Vienna, and the foreign ministers at the UN in New York. A favorable impulse was the visit by the Portuguese state secretary of trade to the Slovak Republic. He reported an interest of Portuguese enterprises in privatization.

Bilateral relations with Ireland have not developed.

### 2.3 Relations With Other States in Europe, North America, and the Commonwealth of Independent States

In relations with other countries in Europe, Slovak diplomacy supported the endeavors for furthering possibilities of contacts in both political and economic spheres. In some countries, we wanted to create the appropriate framework for launching a dialogue and creating opportunities for the expansion of contacts in the future. Thus, cooperation was launched with Turkey, Cyprus, Croatia, Macedonia [The Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia—FYROM], the Baltic states, and the Scandinavian countries. In some instances, high-level meetings have already taken place.

In relations with our traditional partners, we have tried to maintain the position of the Slovak Republic, and, if possible, use it for mutual support on the international scene. All aspects of contacts have been developed with Slovenia, with which we are tied by considerable common political and economic interests, and with Romania, where a significant progress was recorded in our mutual relations, including highest-level meetings. As a result of the domestic political situation, our contacts with Bulgaria somewhat stagnated.

Our relations with the Holy See have improved after our president's official visit to the Vatican, and the meeting between the Slovak prime minister with the state secretary of the Holy See, Cardinal Angelo Sodano. We have also established diplomatic ties with the Sovereign Order of Knights of Malta and the Republic of San Marino.

The contacts with Switzerland are developing similarly well. We have established contacts in the economic sphere, parliamentary cooperation, and cooperation on the level of towns and communities. The representatives of the Slovak Republic and Switzerland met unofficially during the World Economic Forum in Davos, and the Economic Forum in Crans Montana, attended by the

Slovak prime minister and several ministers. Slovak Prime Minister Meciar met on this occasion with Swiss President Ogli.

Regarding the position of both North American states in the world political, economic, and security relations, we have considered the relations with them a priority. Foreign policy of the Slovak Republic toward the United States of America was built on the fact that although Slovakia is one of the successor states to the Czech and Slovak Federal Republic, it is perceived as a new entity that must establish itself on the international political, security, and economic scene. The second factor affecting contacts with the United States was the influence of the United States on the present arrangement of the world and its decisive position within the framework of numerous international organizations and institutions, which the Slovak Republic wants to join, or whose support it would like to gain (United Nations, NATO, IMF, World Bank, etc.). This corresponds to the frequency of visits by World Bank representatives in the course of the year. The Slovak president visited the United States on the occasion of the opening of the Holocaust Museum, the Slovak prime minister visited there, and so did the National Council of the Slovak Republic chairman (three times), the Slovak foreign minister on the occasion of the admission of Slovakia to the United Nations and at the 48th UN General Assembly, and four other ministerial visits.

The interest of the U.S. side focused on the sphere of economic assistance and cooperation with the Slovak Republic. The most important visits from the United States can be considered the mixed delegation of the Department of Defense and the Department of State headed by Deputy Under Secretary of Defense Slocombe, whose members were able to acquaint themselves with the orientation of the Slovak Republic in the sphere of security policy and the orientation of the Army of the Slovak Republic towards a compatibility of the army systems with the NATO structures, and the Coordinating Committee for Multilateral Export and the IMF expert team missions.

The relations with the United States are regulated by some 30 treaties, of which 11 have been signed since November 1989.

Because of the position of the Slovak Republic as a new entity, in addition to the economic indicators, the United States is also interested in the protection of human rights here, freedom of speech, and minority rights. Despite positive signals from the U.S. representatives towards the Slovak Republic, in the political sphere, the exceptions in the assessment of the sphere of the protection of human rights and minorities, media policy, and the privatization process could not be completely eliminated (see the CSCE Commission report to the U.S. Congress).

There are also great reserves in the sphere of cooperation with individual states of the United States, where only the framework treaty with Maryland facilitates a broader economic cooperation than the current one.

A problem of the Slovak Republic from this point of view is, in particular, the lack of coordination of information flows abroad. The latent apprehensions about the development of democracy in the Slovak Republic are contributed to also by some statements and measures by the highest representatives of the Slovak Republic in the sphere of human rights and media policy.

Despite the status of Canada in the world, the Slovak Republic's relations with this country at the highest level, as well as relations with the Canadian representative mission, which is based in Prague, have been only sporadic. That was due, in particular, to the perception of the Slovak Republic as the destroyer of the common state and to the drawing of parallels with the efforts of Quebec to gain independence within the framework of the Canadian federation.

The Slovak Republic is perceived in Canada as a politically integral part of the group of Visegrad Four, though one that is economically weaker, and one responds with understanding to the efforts of the Slovak Republic to become integrated into West European structures.

In May 1993 the Economic Development Corporation (EDC), the most important Canadian economic organization guaranteeing Canadian exporters' credits, included the Slovak Republic among high-risk countries and refused to provide guarantees, thereby virtually halting trade exchange. This suspension [of export credit guarantees] has jeopardized the implementation of many projects. This EDC attitude changed only at the beginning of November, following the September 1993 visit by a delegation of Slovak bankers headed by the governor of the Slovak National Bank. In 1994 it is therefore possible to expect a revival of economic relations and the provision of credits by Canadian banks.

Cooperation at the level of government departments should be based on a clear definition of the Slovak Republic's priorities not only vis-a-vis Canada as a whole, but also vis-a-vis Canadian provinces, many of which assume a more active approach than federal bodies.

The following contacts took place in the course of 1993: the Slovak Republic was visited by Otto Jelinek, minister of national revenue, and several government ministers and Ivan Gasparovic, chairman of the National Council of the Slovak Republic, paid a visit to Canada.

In view of the political and economic situation of the countries of the Commonwealth of Independent States [CIS], Slovak foreign policy approached relations with them pragmatically, with emphasis on the development of mutually advantageous economic and trade relations and the effort to recover some of our claims in these countries.

Proceeding from the new conditions in the two countries, the Slovak Republic was building relations with the Russian Federation on the basis of equal partnership. On the whole, we have succeeded in following up on the positive aspects in historical relations between the two nations.

The fundamental aim in building new relations with the Russian Federation was to secure, above all, economic and trade relations, which had been greatly disrupted in the preceding period. Meeting this target was immensely difficult, due to the exceedingly complicated domestic political, economic, and socioeconomic situation in Russia. In spite of this, we have succeeded in activating mutual relations and raising their quality so that these relations can be characterized as good partnership in all areas. Economic relations, in particular, have been raised to a good level.

A number of contacts was realized in the course of 1993. President Boris Yeltsin's visit to Bratislava, in particular, was an event that should become an important factor for the further development of mutual relations. The Treaty of Friendly Relations and Cooperation was signed during the visit.

Prime Minister Vladimir Meciar paid important visits to Moscow in March and in August 1993, which were devoted mainly to questions of economic cooperation. The Agreement on Economic and Scientific-Technical Cooperation between the Governments of the Slovak Republic and the Russian Federation and the Memorandum on Questions of Slovak-Russian Trade and Economic Cooperation were signed in 1993. Following up on Prime Minister Vladimir Meciar's visits, First Deputy Prime Minister of the Russian Federation O. Lobov and Deputy Prime Minister Y. Yarov paid visits to the Slovak Republic.

Minister of Foreign Affairs of the Slovak Republic Jozef Moravcik paid a visit to the Russian Federation in March 1993, as a member of Prime Minister Vladimir Meciar's delegation, and this visit was reciprocated by the visit of Andrey Kozyrev, minister of foreign affairs of the Russian Federation, to Bratislava.

Mutual working visits by other ministers of the two countries were important.

With regard to relations with other CIS republics, no activities were developed at the highest level and at ministerial level and no visits at these levels were carried out. In 1994 it is necessary to reckon with the development of activities with, in particular, Belarus, Tajikistan, and Kazakhstan.

## Agreement Not Acceded to by Largest Trade Union

*AU2402092394 Bratislava HOSPODARSKE NOVINY in Slovak 22 Feb 94 p 1*

[Article by "sta": "KOVO Trade Union Did Not Accede"]

[Text] Bratislava—The General Agreement between trade unions, employers, and the government for 1994 was signed without the KOVO [metal workers] trade union acceding to the document. V. Stevko, vice president of the Confederation of Trade Unions, said that the KOVO trade union does not feel bound by the agreement because its council placed it under a different obligation. "Unfortunately, at the time of negotiations, when the terms [of the agreement] had already been agreed upon, it is very difficult to speak about new talks," Stevko said, commenting on the decision of the KOVO Council.

## Jeszenszky Denies 'Radical' Minority Policy

*LD2302215494 Budapest Kossuth Radio Network in Hungarian 1700 GMT 23 Feb 94*

[Text] Minister of Foreign Affairs Geza Jeszenszky has reported to the Human Rights Committee of the National Assembly on the situation of Hungarians living beyond the border and on the Hungarian Government policy regarding the minorities. Karoly Levai reports.

[Levai] It is not true that the stance of the Hungarian Government has become more radical regarding the issue of the Hungarian minorities beyond the border, Foreign Minister Geza Jeszenszky said. He added that they had always laid equal emphasis on the establishment of good neighborly relations and the assertion of rights of the Hungarian minorities living in the neighboring countries. Neither of these two issues should be given preference, said the foreign minister. According to him, there are not any problems in those countries where the Hungarian minority is not significant or where minority rights are granted. It is true, however, that there are countries where the situation of the Hungarian minority is changing unfavorably. Thus, for example, our reservations concerning Slovakia's admission to the Council of Europe unfortunately seem to be vindicated, the foreign minister said, adding that the situation of the Hungarian minority there depended on the Slovak domestic policy. Geza Jeszenszky, however, did not wish to express his opinion on it. He said: the ideal solution would be if minority rights were regulated legally in every country, just like us. Until then, the handling of these issues in a way which satisfies both sides, should be helped by the establishment of mixed committees.

## MDF's Fur Views Left Wing, Party's Position

*AU2302115094 Budapest MAGYAR HIRLAP in Hungarian 21 Feb 94 p 3*

["Sz.P."-signed interview with Defense Minister Lajos Fur, chairman of the Hungarian Democratic Forum; place and date not given: "The Party Is Not in Danger of Falling Apart"]

[Text] The left wing thinks in terms of internationalism and ignores national values. Therefore, in the event there is a left-wing turn, the cause of the survival of Hungarians could be endangered, Lajos Fur, elected new chairman of the Hungarian Democratic Forum [MDF] on 19 February, told MAGYAR HIRLAP. He said that he represents the MDF as chairman while he continues to tour the country. He added that, in the event of an unexpected election defeat, it will not be him who will have to draw the conclusions regarding himself. However, the MDF is not expecting this, Fur confirmed.

[MAGYAR HIRLAP] It was almost a year ago when, with dramatic words, you resigned from your position as the MDF's administrative chairman and from party politics. What made your relatively quick and spectacular return possible?

[Fur] In October 1993, I began to visit the MDF's local organizations throughout the country because I had realized that there was no time to waste. I realized we would have to fight a very hard battle at the next elections if we wanted to achieve good results. In the meantime, the emotions that had been upset in the MDF settled down. We need to be very active because the stakes are very high.

[MAGYAR HIRLAP] As the offices of party chairman and managing director are going to coexist, who is it who actually leads the MDF?

[Fur] Sandor Lezsak and I do it together. We do not have very different personalities. Lezsak will run the party's affairs, he is the organizing and operational person, and I will represent the party. I will carry on doing what I have already been doing, namely touring the country and talking.

[MAGYAR HIRLAP] Is the MDF threatened by the same factor that is typical of collective parties? The various tendencies are also represented by other parties that attract the supporters of these ideas with clearer appearance: This can lead to segmentation.

[Fur] At the moment in Hungary, all parties are threatened by this, as far as I can judge the parliamentary political forces. However, after the past, very painful and damaging conflicts, now, in these months, the MDF is not threatened by segmentation.

[MAGYAR HIRLAP] In a recent interview you mentioned that, in the second round of the 1990 elections, the MDF's success was partly due to the votes gained from the Hungarian Socialist Party's [MSZP] supporters. Do you see any chance that, during the campaign, you will regain the support of some of the socialist sympathizers whose number has significantly increased?

[Fur] In the current situation, I doubt that the MDF will be able to do this. In my view, there is no chance of this just now. This base was not actually so big in 1990. Instead, the large mass of people who have not decided whether to vote at all are worth more attention. The MDF will have to win over this group of people.

[MAGYAR HIRLAP] Much was said about the left wing at your National Meeting. During the MDF's campaign, what arguments will you use to convince the public about the reality of the left-wing danger?

[Fur] Three major issues have to be decided and the left-wing's victory would threaten these: The continuation of "clean democracy" might be halted and diverted sideways. It is also possible to create dictatorship from democracy, and not only through a coup. The bourgeois type social order and economic structure could be seriously endangered. I would like to remind people that MSZP Chairman Gyula Horn and Socialist International Chairman Pierre Mauroy clearly said so in their joint statement: They want democratic socialism. I do not at all care what this socialism is described as,

whether flourishing, democratic, or existing, it is still the same thing. There are only slight differences but, as far as the essence is concerned, differences do not exist in left-wing thinking. However, in this case, the bourgeois transformation would be diverted. The third and most critical viewpoint is that the left wing, because it makes the social issues absolute, thinks in terms of internationalism, and therefore it disregards national issues, ignores them, and does not see them as important. Consequently, the issue of the survival of Hungarians is at stake.

[MAGYAR HIRLAP] Do you see any possibility of a coalition or any kind of cooperation with the Hungarian Justice and Life Party [MIEP]?

[Fur] At the moment, there is no chance of this at all. In MAGYAR FORUM, we seem to be the main enemy, the MDF is attacked week after week by the MIEP. This being the case, how could we even begin to think about a coalition?

[MAGYAR HIRLAP] In the event of an election defeat, what conclusions would you draw in connection with yourself and your office as party chairman?

[Fur] Nothing regarding myself, other people will do that for me. From the MDF's point of view, it would mean that it would have to prepare for the next elections and would have to draw conclusions from the work that had negative results. However, I am almost certain that we will not have to face problems like this.

### Parties React to Fur's Statement

*AU2302122194 Budapest PESTI HIRLAP in Hungarian 22 Feb 94 p 3*

[Correspondent's report: "The Parties Do Not Share Lajos Fur's Prognosis—The Left Wing Is Not Afraid of Itself"]

[Text] As we know, at its National Meeting last weekend the Hungarian Democratic Forum [MDF] formulated its program for the 1994 elections and elected new officers. It was announced on 20 February that [Defense Minister] Lajos Fur had been elected party chairman. At the end of the National Meeting, Fur said in his closing speech that the competition will be decided between the left-wing bloc and national Christian forces. What is at stake is nothing other than whether the development of democracy will continue. He warned that the left-wing danger must not be underestimated. We asked various politicians to comment on this issue.

For the Social Democratic Party of Hungary [MSZDP], General Secretary Istvan Podkoniczky said that they do not consider this fear justified because, in their view, a left-wing bloc does not exist. Although, he immediately added, in balanced politics, the left wing has a role in the same way as the right wing does. It is quite certain that "the continuation of pure democracy" is not possible without social justice, solidarity, and equality of opportunity. Social and even economic difficulties can be increased if these three important elements are ignored. Regarding the emphatic section of the MDF's election program urging the preservation and improvement of public security, the MSZDP's view is that crime can be reduced mainly through social measures rather than with a strong police.

Left and right wings are obsolete notions, as people do not divide themselves into sides; the Independent Smallholders Party [FKGP] does not think in these terms, either: It wishes to be the party of the Hungarian people, a modern European people's party, Mrs. Agnes G. Nagy, deputy chairman of the party, said at a news conference in Kaposvar, where Somogy county's Smallholder candidates were introduced.

According to Tamas Deutsch, deputy chairman of the Federation of Young Democrats [Fidesz], Lajos Fur's statement that the elections will be decided between the left-wing bloc and national Christian forces only indicates that the MDF's new chairman values his party's election chances highly. In the Fidesz's view, the MDF and the current coalition will obtain less support at the elections than in 1990. However, it is far from true that only the current coalition can call itself a national force because it is difficult to dispute that other parties, including the Fidesz, are nationally committed.

According to Zoltan Gal, parliamentary group leader of the Hungarian Socialist Party [MSZP], the speeches at the MDF's National Meeting indicate that a right-wing populist is the party's new chairman, while, in this peculiar division of labor, Prime Minister Peter Boross strengthens the MDF's pragmatic image. The National Meeting confirmed the MSZP's expectations: The MDF cannot boast about its performance over the past four years, and so it is trying to push the problems of the present into the past and to blend the MSZP with the past, the former interior minister thought.

Bela Csepe, parliamentary group leader of the Christian Democratic People's Party [KDNP], said that the parliamentary group had sent a greetings telegram to Lajos Fur on the occasion of his election. This greeting indicates that the parliamentary group does not consider the functions of MDF chairman and defense minister irreconcilable. (In an MTI statement on 20 February, KDNP Deputy Chairman Laszlo Varga said that at a time when it is completely uncertain how the south Slav events will end, the same person cannot hold the positions of party chairman and defense minister.)

According to Attila Karoly Soos, deputy of the Alliance of Free Democrats [SZDSZ], Lajos Fur is dreaming if he thinks that only the left wing can be the opponent of the current right-wing parties. A strong liberal center is also present on the political scene and this group will also have a say in forming the next government coalition.

Pal Dragon, deputy of the United Smallholders Party, said that he agrees with Lajos Fur's statement. In his

view, this coalition has managed to lay the foundations of a democracy that is able to function. With this, the Hungarian Government has achieved a unique performance in Europe that no one else can boast about. "I am proud that the United Smallholders Party, the former Group of 36, has preserved its original principles and fought throughout the four years together with the MDF."

## Liberal Parties Coordinate Foreign Policy Plans

*AU2302190294 Budapest NEPSZABADSAG in Hungarian 23 Feb 94 p 3*

[Correspondent's report: "There Would Not Be a Cleanup"]

[Text] The foreign policy strategies of the Alliance of Free Democrats [SZDSZ] and the Federation of Young Democrats [Fidesz] can be brought into harmony but further consultations are needed on certain issues, the two parties' representatives announced after their foreign policy consultations on 22 February.

As [Fidesz deputy] Jozsef Szajer and [SZDSZ deputy] Istvan Szent-Ivanyi said, at the meeting they had mainly discussed European affairs and security problems, and exchanged their views on what kind of foreign affairs structure the two parties would form if they both came to government. There is no dispute about the country's orientation between the two liberal parties, they said; both organizations consider early European Union [EU] and NATO membership their fundamental goal. In connection with this, the participants of the meeting thought that the Hungarian Socialist Party's [MSZP] NATO policy is not unequivocal but, according to Szajer, downright "confusing." The Fidesz would not consider it a campaign measure if the government submitted a formal request for EU membership in the coming weeks. However, the SZDSZ considered it important to hold prior inter-party consultation on this issue.

The liberals find the establishment of a unified foreign affairs management desirable. Accordingly, they would wind up the Ministry of International Economic Relations, in spite of the fact that this would not mean budget savings in the short term. In their view, it is important that the diplomatic body develops in the direction of public service. If they come to power, the liberals envisage 10 to 15 appointments in the foreign affairs leadership and the same number in ambassadorial positions. They do not want to perform a political cleanup in the Foreign Ministry's staff; the professionalism and loyalty that can be expected from public service employees will be the basic criteria in assessing diplomats.

## Republic Party Official Views Election Program

*AU2202171894 Budapest MAGYAR NEMZET in Hungarian 19 Feb 94 p 4*

[Interview with Andras Veer, administrative deputy chairman of the Republic Party, by Lilla Rist; place and date not given: "Before the Elections—We Represent Economic Rationality—The Republic Party's Administrative Deputy Chairman Says"]

[Excerpts] [passage omitted] [Rist] Can we call the Republic Party [KP] a pragmatic party?

[Veer] It can certainly be called pragmatic although I did not want to use this term. In 1992, the KP defined itself as a pragmatic election party but, after this, many other parties in Hungary began to use this term. In the KP's case, pragmatism means that it is only prepared to make decisions in accordance with economic rationality, regardless of how this fits in with various people's ideological views. [passage omitted]

[Rist] The KP's program is trying to deal with the problems of almost all social strata and to make it attractive for everyone. Are you not worried that this effort will slip into demagogy?

[Veer] We have often been accused of this. In my view, demagogy means irresponsible promises. The KP would only be demagogic if it promised things it cannot fulfill. However, it is difficult to call it demagogic just because it is sensitive to social issues, because it emphasizes responsibility in this, too.

[Rist] The KP's program seems to have a strong economic policy line that intends mainly to favor the enterprises.

[Veer] Undoubtedly, putting the economy back on its feet is the most important thought in the KP's program. Its slogan states the same: Rather than the economy being for politics, politics must be for the economy. However, this does not mean that any values can be sacrificed for this. I am thinking of education, health care, and culture which are openly represented by the KP. The maintenance of these is an obligation, rather than generosity. In addition to supporting the entrepreneur, our enterprise-friendliness wishes to support the enterprising society by creating workplaces, through the market, abundance of goods, and by establishing a consumer society. The essence of our economic program is that, in addition to having to help the entrepreneurs, we also have to help the system from which an economy that is good for everyone can develop.

[Rist] Who do you see as your voters?

[Veer] The pensioners, the intelligentsia of the provinces, and Budapest's citizens. However, this is a very difficult question because the KP has not yet been tested. We think that we will also be able to take away provincial votes from the Hungarian Socialist Party through our agricultural program. [passage omitted]

[Rist] What are your views on the role and tasks of the state?

[Veer] The coalition has clearly been following an etatist policy which resulted in the establishment of a rather

centralized state structure. According to the KP, naturally, the state must not deny its tasks and responsibilities. It should only withdraw from the economy to the extent that its functioning can be ensured. The conditions for this have to be established through laws and tax policy. The state cannot withdraw from construction of housing, youth policy, or the maintenance of sciences, but it need not direct the economy. However, it will only be possible to see in the future how long it takes to dismantle the etatist system without damaging the already established living conditions. Corruption, which is a result of the centralization, will have to be investigated by the justice organizations rather than the government. [passage omitted]

## Foreign Affairs Official on French Relations

*AU2302121694 Budapest MAGYAR NEMZET in Hungarian 22 Feb 94 pp 1, 2*

[Interview with Foreign Ministry State Secretary Janos Martonyi by Jozsef Martin; place and date not given: "Janos Martonyi's Statement Before Peter Boross's French Visit—Our Relations With Paris Are Constantly Improving"]

[Excerpts] "Throughout history, our relations with France have never been as good as now," said Foreign Ministry State Secretary Janos Martonyi who recently held bilateral consultations in Paris. We asked him on this occasion, shortly before Prime Minister Peter Boross's official visit to Paris, to assess our relations with France.

[Martin] How do relations with France fit into the system of Hungarian foreign politics?

[Martonyi] We continue to see French relations as a cardinal element of Hungary's foreign relations. I could also phrase it this way: Paris has two dimensions from Budapest's point of view, one is bilateral relations, and the other is that France is one of the determining factors in our Europe policy.

As for bilateral relations, it has been said many times that, throughout history, Hungarian-French relations have never been as good as now. And these relations are constantly improving. Consulting with the general secretary of the Foreign Ministry a few days ago, we established that our views are identical on most issues, although some differences of approach exist on certain issues.

Therefore, in my view, we cannot do much more in the area of bilateral relations, except encouraging more capital investment by French investors, and we try to improve domestic conditions for this. We continue to try to strengthen the French presence in Hungary from the economic, financial, trade, cultural, political, and psychological points of view equally. I believe that there is also much improvement in the public view in our societies: The French image in Hungary has never been as good as now, and I trust that Hungary's image is also good in France, apart from some minor disturbing factors. However, the latter apply to all Central Eastern Europe, not specifically to Hungary. [passage omitted]

[Martin] For many decades, Hungary was not France's chosen state in Central Eastern Europe. Bucharest was France's number one partner. Can you see any change in this area?

[Martonyi] In my view, Hungarian-French relations have gone through a qualitative improvement in the past three to four years. We have never made it our goal to improve these relations to the detriment of other countries. To the contrary, in our view, French politics that are much more balanced than in the past can contribute with increasing efficiency in resolving our problems. We saw this in the Balladur plan from the first moment, this is why we still support this proposal. In other words, we do not want to improve our relations with France by worsening relations with others, and I do not even wish to evaluate the way Paris assesses the current situation in Romania and the most recent change of government in Bucharest. Our interest is that views on Central Europe generally improve. [passage omitted]

[Martin] From the implementation of the Balladur plan, Hungarian diplomacy expects the improvement of the life of national minorities living in the neighboring countries. However, it seems that a number of Western European countries and institutions would prefer to step back in granting national minority rights. Is there a danger that a document will again be prepared that is not adhered to?

[Martonyi] Risks do exist, but we can exclude the possibility of the situation becoming worse after an initiative like this. We have to seize all opportunities, in the Council of Europe and in other places. We trust that, even if slowly and with difficulties, progress can be made: This is Hungarian diplomacy's basic strategic goal. We need to be very industrious. As regards the final outcome of the European Union plan that is launched from the French prime minister's proposal, I might be more optimistic than the average European. In my view, this is a correct idea that wants to make up for a deficiency and it can take us closer to the solution. Naturally, if the necessary willingness to cooperate is completely missing from the participants, there is a risk that we will not be able to make any progress. However, this cannot mean that we will not try. [passage omitted]

## Army Command Merged Into Defense Ministry

*94P20376A*

[Editorial Report] The Hungarian Government's controversial decision to incorporate the army's high command into the Defense Ministry was an unexpected development, indicated journalist Akos Tomory in the 22 January issue of the weekly HETI VILAGGAZDASAG (HVG). Tomory said that the merger was announced in January, shortly after the National Assembly passed the

new defense law by a vast majority, because the government wanted to "strike while the iron is hot" and take full advantage of the stipulation in the new law that gives the defense minister the authority "to develop the high command of the army." Although the law does not specifically call for the merger, the government's view, Tomory said, was that the "six-party consensus" on the law—forged during two years of difficult interparty negotiations—provides a broad-based mandate for the reorganization. The move is the latest "in a series of successes," Tomory said, for the political leadership of the Defense Ministry, which took an active part in negotiating the defense law and managed to "reach a consensus with the military policy experts of the parliamentary parties without having to give in" on key points relating to the authority of the Defense Ministry.

The government's plan, according to statements made to HVG by Rudolf Joo, administrative state secretary in the Defense Ministry, calls for two major divisions within the Defense Ministry: a "civil service-state administration department, which is headed by the administrative state secretary," and a separate "department consisting of the officers of the ex-army command." The latter, according to Joo, will be headed by the highest-ranking officer, who will have the rank of state secretary and will be subordinate to the defense minister. Thus, Tomory commented, "two parallel hierarchies seem to be developing within the Defense Ministry, which will have a civilian character by virtue of the fact that the minister of defense holds the two halves together."

The article reports that in some quarters the plan has been received with considerable skepticism. The government's goal of "ending parallel commands" and "strengthening civilian control over the military" could be "self-defeating," critics claim, because it creates the "danger" that "the ministry will be militarized." In fact, Tomory reported, according to some military "experts" who "do not wish to be named," it is not even clear "which organization is being incorporated into the other one." Moreover, in the opinion of these critics, the plan to have two separate organizational departments within the Defense Ministry will be difficult to work out in practice. "At the moment, it is not even possible to know what kind of subordinate and supervisory relations might develop between the civil-service civilian employees and those transferred from the military command." It appears that "one-half to two-thirds of the employees of the new Ministry of Defense (presently 320 employees work in the Ministry of Defense while 800 work at Army Headquarters) would stick out of the usual ministerial hierarchy."

While the restructuring details are unclear, it is certain that the merger enables the government to get rid of high-level holdovers from the communist-era military command. The government has already announced, Tomory reported, that the present commander of the army, Colonel-General Kalman Lorincz, will be retired as soon as he reaches the minimum retirement age of 55 this month—thus ending the controversy that erupted two years ago over whether or not the government has the right to fire him. According to State Secretary Joo, Tomory reported, one proof of the "correctness" of the merger is that it facilitates the personnel changes that the former communists want to avoid. The Hungarian Socialist Party—which is a successor of the formerly ruling communist party and which has a chance of winning the May election—is the one party that wants military leadership changes to take place "only after the next election," Joo asserted.

### Russia's Kozyrev Addresses 'Partnership' Conference

*LD2302130594 Warsaw PAP in Polish 1117 GMT 23 Feb 94*

[Text] Krakow, 23 Feb—In Krakow on Wednesday, Russian Foreign Minister Andrey Kozyrev, speaking at the Polish-Russian conference "Toward New Partnership," presented a Russian plan on Pan-European partnership. He said that the acceptance of new Eastern and Central European countries as NATO members would create new political barriers and would put Russia in the position of having to counteract the process, which would result in its isolation.

According to Kozyrev, Pan-European partnership should be based on cooperation within the CSCE, which has been taking place until now, and the CSCE should be transformed into an effective organization. The Russian foreign minister said that European military and political cooperation should be concentrated in the North Atlantic Cooperation Council, which should coordinate efforts by NATO, the European Union, the Council of Europe, the Western European Union, and the CIS.

Kozyrev emphasized the need to consolidate cooperation within the North Atlantic Council and pointed out the need to implement the Partnership for Peace program based on the principle of equality. According to the Russian minister, a network of bilateral agreements between states that are not NATO members should also be established as part of the Partnership program. In Kozyrev's opinion, this could initiate closer relations between the CIS and NATO.

The Russian foreign minister stressed that the Pan-European partnership plan would also incorporate security guarantees to be given to Eastern and Central European states by Russia and its Western European partners. He added that the acceptance of new Eastern and Central European states as NATO members could create new political barriers, which would put Russia in the position of having to counteract them and which would result in Russia's isolation.

Kozyrev added that closer economic cooperation should be established as part of the partnership program. He also pointed out the need to open Western markets to East European goods.

### Olechowski Urges Cooperation

*LD2302120594 Warsaw PAP in Polish 1007 GMT 23 Feb 94*

[Text] Krakow, 23 February—In Krakow on Tuesday, Polish and Russian Foreign Ministers Andrzej and Andrey Kozyrev took part in the inaugural session of the Polish-Russian conference organized by the foundation of the Center for the Development of Democracy. The conference is being held under the slogan: "Towards New Partnership."

In his inaugural speech, Minister Olechowski put forward a new concept for cooperation with Russia, which he called "Partnership for Transformation." In his opinion such cooperation would lead to the achievement by the two states of "their proper place among the developed democratic countries." Olechowski emphasized that the essential feature of Polish-Russian partnership should be better use of traditional trade links in order to fill the gap that has arisen after the disappearance of the CEMA [Council for Mutual Economic Assistance].

The Polish foreign minister pointed out that Poland and Russia should support each other in creating a modern trade law compatible with international standardsm, and they should set up a system of preferential treatment for bilateral trade, as well as cooperate in developing banking and transport services. Olechowski said that Poland had already prepared a plan for an Eastern European Trade Initiative that would coordinate such cooperation.

The minister added that it was necessary to create a data bank of information on investment capabilities of companies in the two countries and to organize investment promotions and set up capital links between the companies that in the past used to cooperate within the CEMA.

Olechowski emphasized that the stabilization of the situation in Central and Eastern Europe would be a condition for joining the community of democratic countries. He expressed the hope that the participation of Poland and Russia in the Partnership for Peace program would facilitate the process. In his opinion, regional and bilateral cooperation in many areas, which should be conducted as two sovereign states, would also facilitate stabilization in the region.

"We need partnership with Russia, Ukraine, and other neighbors in order to make an ambitious contribution to Europe—Europe, which is both diversified and unified—and with the aim of taking our proper place in it," Olechowski said.

### 'No Breakthrough' Achieved

*WS2402111794 Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish 24 Feb 94 p 21*

[Commentary by Ryszard Malik: "Each One Persisted With His Own Ideas"]

[Text] In Krakow no breakthrough was achieved simply because such a breakthrough was not possible. It would have been naive to link the working visit of Andrey Kozyrev with a hope to "open a new chapter" in Polish-Russian relations, as was done by some Polish observers after the speech by Andrzej Olechowski in the Senate Foreign Affairs Committee. Therefore, Kozyrev did not take us aback when on Wednesday [23 February] on the forum of the conference "In the Direction of a New Partnership," he presented rather vague principles for an

all-European partnership and not a concrete vision of the Russian policy toward the states of Central-Eastern Europe, including Poland.

In recent years, Poland has not taken advantage of the opportunity to change its geopolitical location by incorporating our country into the already existing European security structure. Now it is probably too late for that. After its unexpected success in Bosnia, when it presented its large potential by blocking the NATO action, Russia is even more reluctant to agree that a state located near its western border be a member of this organization. The visit of Minister Kozyrev to the Visegrad Group states (except Slovakia) was paid at a special moment: the moment of reconstructing the superpower position of Russia. What could be done by a minister of such a superpower, the position of which was not negated by anyone? Kozyrev had to act just as he acted. He had to behave like a professional diplomat, a friendly interlocutor, but also like a strong partner that no one can impose anything on.

The Krakow meetings of both ministers, which, incidentally, were held in a good atmosphere, explained at least one thing: each party perceives the construction of a new all-European security structure differently. This, however, is no obstacle to developing bilateral relations, especially economic contacts. In this respect the heads of the Russian and Polish diplomacies were in agreement.

## Kolodziejczyk Advocates NATO 'Partnership'

*WS2302123794 Warsaw TVP Television First Program Network in Polish 1045 GMT 22 Feb 94*

[Statement by Polish Defense Minister Piotr Kolodziejczyk, from the "Strictly Public" military program; place and date not given—recorded]

[Excerpts] We are planning on a number of strictly military measures, the magnitude of which—it is true—will not be very large, but there is a rational reason for that: We will accumulate the indispensable experiences at the level of a platoon or a company, and then the conclusions that will be drawn from those experiences will bring positive results in the course of preparing subsequent training which would then be broadened, including participation by larger types of units or even tactical units. At the same time of course—that is less expensive—command and staff exercises will be taking place, and also joint training, and computer-simulated war and political games. I hope these measures, which are very significant—I hope we will manage to implement these measures since they do not require as huge expenditures as in the case, for instance, of an exchange or participation in maneuvers abroad by an entire brigade or division—that is out of the question for this year.

The most urgent need for Europe—and not just Europe—is the issue of establishing efficient peacekeeping forces. Poland has had considerable experience in that regard; it has a well-prepared center for training troops for peacekeeping missions. Quite an intensive exchange is already going on in that area, and I think that direction should definitely be maintained, while taking advantage of experiences of, for instance, the Dutch, Great Britain, or other countries that are involved in such peacekeeping missions. But that is not the whole of the offer, and the path of getting closer to European structures and to NATO should also consist of many other types of measures. The biggest problem is introducing NATO's technical standards into our Army, with particular emphasis paid to communications as the Army's nerve—that problem should be resolved as a priority. A few other problems should also be resolved immediately after that. There exists such a plan in the Army—it has been prepared. But what we do not quite know, is how to finance these investments which—there is no getting away from that—are very expensive. [passage omitted]

As for right now, I can see no alternative whatsoever. Simply put, the Partnership for Peace initiative constitutes a realistic way to build continental or even Euro-Atlantic security structures—after all, NATO also includes the United States. Right now, there is the problem of to what extent and how willingly the other European countries will decide to get involved in the initiative, I mean in particular those countries not included in the Visegrad Group.

## Mazowiecki Condemns 'Inertia' Over Sarajevo

*BR2302154894 Brussels LE SOIR in French 23 Feb 94 p 6*

[Article by P.Ml. on telephone interview with Tadeusz Mazowiecki, UN Human Rights Commission special rapporteur in the former Yugoslavia, in Warsaw on 22 February: "Human Rights: Mazowiecki Condemns International Inertia"]

[Text] "The decisions made with regard to Sarajevo have seriously changed the situation on the ground in the former Yugoslavia. Indeed, I had intended to abandon my mission. In view of recent events, however, I think that my resignation would not be appropriate or even clearly understood or correctly interpreted at the very time when, for the first time, decisive action had just been taken in Bosnia."

LE SOIR, which in an exclusive interview on 25 May 1993 announced the intention of Tadeusz Mazowiecki, former Polish prime minister, special rapporteur of the Human Rights Commission in the former Yugoslavia, to abandon his mission, questioned him again by telephone in Warsaw before the publication of his latest report in Geneva next Monday.

However, although Mr. Mazowiecki is wondering about the appropriateness of his departure given the new circumstances created by the ultimatum in Sarajevo, he has not changed his opinion and continues to accuse the international community of "inertia" faced with the "large-scale violations" of human rights in Bosnia.

"The conflicts in the former Yugoslavia, especially in Bosnia-Herzegovina, prove that human rights only occupy a secondary place on the international political stage," the former Polish prime minister writes. A number of "official measures which have been taken can be regarded as a substitute or an excuse for the international community's political inertia," he said. The special rapporteur then admitted that he had been unable to achieve his main objectives which were "to provide assistance to the victims and reduce the massive scale of human rights violations."

It was in August 1992 that the UN Human Rights Commission gave Mr. Mazowiecki the task of drawing up periodic reports on the situation in the former Yugoslavia. Mr. Mazowiecki, who has already published five reports last year, still thinks that all his warnings have been "ignored by the international community." Meanwhile, the policy of "ethnic cleansing," started by the Bosnian Serbs has been "continued without respite," he explained.

Last May, Mr. Mazowiecki was extremely critical of the international community. "Pontius Pilate's gesture does not suit me," the first prime minister of postcommunist Poland told us at the time. He is waiting for the meeting in Geneva next Monday before making a decision. The fact remains that he is wondering, as he told us on Tuesday evening, "whether the international community will be capable of continuing decisive action in the defense of human rights in the former Yugoslavia. Withdrawal or UN control of the heavy weapons around Sarajevo does not solve the terrible problems which stem from the serious human rights violations in Sarajevo and elsewhere. I hope, but unfortunately without having any certainty, that the Sarajevo action will be a turning-point and that equally decisive actions will also be taken elsewhere."

## Compromise Agreement Reached on Lithuania Treaty

*WS2302121694 Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish 23 Feb 94 p 1*

[Report by M.N.: "Polish-Lithuanian Treaty Negotiated; Without Zeligowski"]

[Text] "An agreement has been reached on the Polish-Lithuanian treaty. The fifth round of talks, which took place on Tuesday [22 February], ended the negotiations," Iwo Byczewski, deputy foreign affairs minister of the Polish Republic, and his Lithuanian counterpart Vladislavas Domarkas announced on 22 February.

Both parties reached a compromise on the controversial issue concerning the evaluation of past Polish-Lithuanian relations. According to the negotiators, the treaty will not include any dates or references to historic figures. The problem, of course, was about the so-called rebellion of General Zeligowski and the invasion of Vilnius, which the Lithuanians wanted condemned during the negotiations which lasted more than 12 months. Poland firmly rejected these demands and argued that the evaluation of the past should be left to historians. It was eventually decided that a few general sentences concerning the past would be written in the preamble to the treaty.

Characterizing the wording of the preamble, Deputy Minister Byczewski said that it was stated there that "both nations had easier and more difficult times in their history. The point is that good conclusions be drawn from this bad past for a good future."

Lithuania is currently the only neighboring country with which Poland has not signed a treaty. "The treaty, which was agreed to yesterday, might be signed as soon as March, during President Lech Walesa's visit to Vilnius," say the Lithuanians. The visit of the president to Lithuania has recently been discussed in the talks between Minister Andrzej Zakrzewski, Walesa's envoy, and Lithuanian President Algirdas Brazauskas. However, the information on the visit has not yet been confirmed by the President's Chancellery.

## Walesa Refuses Cooperation Over Constitution

*WS2302160794 Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish 23 Feb 94 pp 1, 2*

[Article by Kazimierz Groblewski: "Two Constitutions Will Be Drafted; President for Himself, the Parliament for Itself"]

[Text] On Tuesday [22 February] the president stopped cooperating with the parliament in the creation of the constitution. He recalled his representative Lech Falandysz from the Constitutional Committee, and withdrew his constitution bill, which was drafted during the term of the previous parliament. He wants to draft a new constitution along with "social forces" and he does not intend to submit it in the parliament," we were told by President's Spokesman Andrzej Drzycimski.

"The president would really like to be reelected and so he thought that he might treat the Constitution as game factor in the fight for reelection," Aleksander Kwasniewski, head of the Constitutional Committee of the National Assembly, commented on the decisions of the president.

"As for the Constitution, it was the parliament, not me, who rejected the possibility of cooperation. I tried to cooperate," declared Lech Walesa in his statement for the Polish Press Agency [PAP].

In line with the 1992 Law on the Procedures for Preparation and Passing of the Constitution, the president may prepare his own constitution bill, independently of the parliament; however, he must submit it in the National Assembly by 9 May.

President's spokesman Andrzej Drzycimski told us on Tuesday that the president would not forward the constitution bill, prepared with the participation of the people, to the parliament.

**"He Will Embark on a Campaign**

for the bill. Political life will show which bill—the one prepared by the parliament or the one prepared by the president—is stronger. The point is that it should be recalled that the creator of all laws is the nation," said Drzycimski.

In his 23 February statement for PAP, the president said that he would not deprive the parliament of the right to work on the constitution. "I have always thought, and I will still think that the verdict of democracy (election results) should be honored and respected. However, I will not submit to conditions that are unfavorable and defective. Nonetheless, all of us must submit to democracy."

He also said that the adoption of the basic law a little later may favorably affect the quality of this law. By taking part in its creation, the nation will understand "what is going on."

Walesa explained that he had recalled his representative from the Constitutional Committee...

**Because the Sejm Rejected**

on Friday his legislative initiative, which granted groups of 100,000 people the right to submit their own constitution bills; according to this proposal, if the nation does not approve of the bill passed by the National Assembly in a referendum, the parliament is dissolved.

Lech Walesa declares that he will no longer hold talks with the parliament on the constitution or take part in its creation.

However, the law on the procedures for passing the constitution imposes concrete duties on the president. Once the constitution has been adopted by the National Assembly, the president has 60 days to submit a proposal with amendments to it. His amendments are then adopted by the definite majority of the votes; another condition is that at least 50 percent of the overall number of the National Assembly members are present. Then the president would have 14 days to order a referendum on the Constitution. It must be held no later than four months after it was ordered. Lech Walesa will have to do all these things, regardless of the declared refusal to cooperate with the parliament in the creation of the constitution. The members of the Non-Party Bloc in Support of Reforms did not withdraw from the Constitutional Committee. Therefore, Lech Walesa will be able to follow its work indirectly. Lech Falandysz, who has been recalled, had the right to submit motions, but he did not take part in the ballots.

## Constitutional Commission Meets

*LD2302192194 Warsaw TVP Television First Program Newtork in Polish 1100 GMT 23 Feb 94*

[Relayed by TV Polonia Network]

[Text] The National Assembly Constitutional Commission is examining the list of institutions and organizations whose representatives will take part in the work on the constitution.

[Reporter] Aleksander Kwasniewski, the Constitutional Commission chairman, said that yesterday's decision by the president to withdraw both his representative and his constitutional draft from the Constitutional Commission was in breach of law. According to the law [of 1991 on the procedure of preparing and adopting the constitution] it is the representatives of the president, the government, and the Constitutional Tribunal who should take part in the meetings of the commission. They all have the right to file motions. This is more of a duty than a right.

Aleksander Kwasniewski said that using the Constitution as means to achieve an aim, irrespective of whether the objective is to compete for the presidential post, or to improve the image of the first man in the country, is wrong.

On the other hand, Tadeusz Mazowiecki from the Democratic Union [UD] parliamentary floor group, said that he had noticed that also the government coalition, the coalition parliamentary majority, used the Constitution as a means to an end. Tadeusz Mazowiecki said that the Constitutional Commission Chairman, Aleksander Kwasniewski himself, had brought about the escalation of the conflict by saying, for example on the radio yesterday, that President Walesa could be facing a trial by the State Tribunal. Tadeusz Mazowiecki pointed out that the rejection by the Sejm on Friday [18 February] of the president's constitutional draft had been done in a manner openly arrogant, ostentatious, and contemptuous to President Walesa.

Deputy Jerzy Gwizdz from the Non-Party Bloc for Supporting Reforms [BBWR] put forward a motion that the commission's proceedings be discontinued. He was supported by Leszek Moczulski from the Confederation for an Independent Poland [KPN].

## Walesa Comments

*LD2302192594 Warsaw Radio Warszawa Network in Polish 1800 GMT 23 Feb 94*

[Quotation marks denote recorded passages]

[Text] [Announcer] President Lech Walesa has said in Riga that he sees no point in future cooperation with the Sejm and is not going to talk with Sejm Speaker Jozef Oleksy about the conflict originating from the rejection of presidential constitutional proposals by the Sejm. Asked about his position on Aleksander Kwasniewski's

statement that the president had no right to withdraw his representative from the Constitutional Commission, Lech Walesa said:

[Walesa] "If postcommunists and Kwasniewski were to have the real power, his idol Stalin would surely lock me up for that."

[Announcer] Lech Walesa said that he is ready to talk with the Sejm speaker about issues which have prospects for being resolved.

[Walesa] "The president has to talk and will talk with the speaker on issues which have prospects for being resolved. Nothing can be done on this issue of constitutional conflict, unless the speaker secures different voting."

[Announcer] President Walesa probably will not visit the Sejm building again.

[Walesa] "As I have noticed, there is no point, and I think that we are going to have ever fewer things in common."

## Solidarity Prepares for Strike Over Budget

*WS2302135694 Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish 23 Feb 94 p 2*

[Report by PAD: "'S' on Strikes"]

[Text] On Thursday [24 February] "Solidarity" will organize at least two-hour-long strikes in the area of the Lower Silesian, Western, and Eastern District Directorate of State Railroads. Strike readiness has been reported by 18 regions and branches of the trade union. Similar action in [Upper] Silesia and in the energy-fuel industry is to be expected after 1 March.

Strikes of railroads workers, most probably between 0500 [0400 GMT] and 0700 [0600 GMT], will be coordinated by the Protest Action Headquarters. "The railroads workers have their own demands; however, this is also the protest of the entire trade union due to the fact that the government has not responded to our demands," said "Solidarity" Spokesman Piotr Zak. "The Presidium of the National Committee [KK] has given the government until 1 March to guarantee the implementation of the demands. Following this date, escalation of strikes should be expected," said Zak. On Tuesday [22 February], after many hours of discussions, the KK Presidium decided not to reveal the strike scenario. Zak merely said that preparations are under way for a major action. "I will not call this a nationwide strike; however, the readiness to stage a strike very quickly has been reported by seven branches and 11 regions," revealed the union's spokesman. KK Secretary Stanislaw Alot believes that the problem is not whether to strike, but when to strike. "Our protest is supposed to force a change in the 1994 budget bill," recalls Alot. Other demands of the union are: curbing the energy price increase, giving property to citizens, passing a law on collective agreements by the Sejm, respecting the principle of representativeness of the organizations of employees and employers, changing the fiscal policy to a policy favoring families, abandoning the concept of "a different tax on excessive wage increases" [popiwek]. "Solidarity" also demands that all the negotiated decisions in the "Pact on Enterprise" be implemented.

"The statements of some representatives of the government coalition suggest that the Sejm may adopt the budget of the state before 7 March. If this should happen, we will organize firm action earlier," stated Alot.

Despite earlier statements, "Solidarity" authorities did not set the date of the strike in Silesia and in the fuel-energy industry. The representatives of the latter reported strike readiness on 7 March. Relevant decisions will have been made by the end of February.

Observers emphasize that the 24 February strikes of the railroads workers will be a test for rank-and-file unionists and only after the strikes will the "Solidarity" authorities be able to evaluate the force that they can count on.

According to unofficial sources, in recent days "Solidarity" has received several informal offers of talks with high-ranking representatives of the Belveder.

## PDSR Breaks With PRM Over Iliescu Attack

*AU2302151194 Bucharest Radio Romania Network in Romanian 1100 GMT 23 Feb 94*

[Text] The Central Executive Bureau of the Social Democracy Party of Romania [PDSR] held a meeting yesterday, which was also attended by the PDSR parliamentary groups, during which it adopted a declaration expressing the stance of that party regarding the open letter addressed to President Ion Iliescu by the leadership of the Greater Romania Party [PRM].

After answering in detail all the issues raised in the letter, the declaration emphasizes that the PDSR has no other choice but take note of the fact that the PRM decided to suspend negotiations with the government party, a decision that was made by the PRM leadership, and therefore the responsibility for this act, as well as its consequences, lies exclusively with the nine members of the PRM Steering Committee. The declaration then says, quote, as a matter of fact, given the tone of the PRM leadership's letter, it is unlikely that we should find a basis for further dialogue, unquote.

The declaration concludes by expressing the hope that the members of the PRM will understand the stance of the PDSR as, in the past, PDSR and PRM deputies and senators had identical or similar positions regarding a number of draft bills. The declaration reassures those parliamentarians, as well as the other members of the PRM that the PDSR remains open to dialogue, but solely if the leaders of the PRM will show proof of their responsibility, of the fact that they are prepared to adopt sensible stances, and that they are really preoccupied by the real problems of the country in the current transition period.

## PD Call for Dialogue, National Pact Published

*AU2002213294 Bucharest AZI in Romanian 16 Feb 94 p 8*

[Text of "Letter From the Democratic Party in Response to the Invitation to Dialogue From the Social Democracy Party of Romania: The Country's Situation Is Much Too Serious for Discussions in General Terms"; place and date not given]

[Text] Mr. Oliviu Gherman: The Democratic Party [PD] considers constant, frank, and direct dialogue as one of the principles of its policy as well as a condition for a sound and effective democratic life. We have repeatedly and publicly said that if civilized, principled, and constructive dialogue between the political forces and within the democratic institutions of the state governed by law does not exist, then differences turn into disputes, while disputes are transferred to the street to be solved with the help of violent means characteristic of the street. Within such a context, the PD—by itself or together with other parties of the current opposition—has repeatedly invited you to discuss our country's real problems and to jointly contribute to their solution. This is the spirit in which in October 1992 we participated in negotiations preceding the formation of the Vacaroiu government, in which we adopted the PD Declaration of 14 September 1993, edited the PD letter of 3 January 1994 regarding the possibility of concluding a National Pact, and signed the joint declaration of the PD and the parliamentary parties of the Democratic Convention of Romania [CDR] of 14 January 1994, which was addressed to the president of the republic. Numerous other communiques and public statements by the PD always reaffirmed its readiness for dialogue in general and for dialogue with the Social Democracy Party of Romania [PDSR] as the political formation that is currently holding the relative majority of parliamentary mandates in particular.

Thus, it was with hope that we welcomed your letter of 4 February 1994, whereby you informed us about the offer of beginning official discussions between the PD and the PDSR. Unfortunately, your party's readiness is flagrantly at variance with all the concrete actions taken by this party, which are often full of hostility toward the PD and disloyalty toward the principles of a genuine democratic life.

Despite this contradiction, consistent with our own proposals for dialogue, we are ready to begin the discussions you mention in your letter and to rid our minds of all suspicion.

On the other hand, we believe that our country's situation is much too serious and decisive to conduct discussions in general terms as your suggest.

What we need today are not generalities, but specific solutions as a result of our courageous and responsible exchange of ideas, an exchange without any grudge, falseness, and preconceived ideas. Consequently, we propose—as, in fact, you do—that the agenda include the following points:

1. Identifying concrete ways and means to immediately begin tripartite PDSR-CDR-PD negotiations to conclude a National Pact like the one proposed by the PD in the open letter addressed to President Ion Iliescu on 3 January 1994 and to form a new government;

2. Deciding on actions aimed at restructuring the current parliamentary majority and setting up, on this basis, a new government that is able to take our economy out of the crisis, put an end to the daily needs and suffering of our citizens, and reestablish our country's credibility abroad, and that enjoys strong political support in the process of implementing its reform program by a credible, stable, and solid majority made up of the PDSR (34 percent of parliamentary mandates), the CDR (33 percent of the parliamentary mandates), and the PD (14 percent of the parliamentary mandates);

3. The phenomenon of extremism in Romania's political arena; measures to isolate extremist pressure groups and preventing their access to the levers of power;

4. Guaranteeing genuine autonomy for local administration and working out tangible measures to stop any kind of political, government pressure on the administrative authorities emerged from the last local elections.

Given the importance of the subjects proposed and the extremely urgent need to solve them, we believe that the delegations that are going to represent our parties have to be made up of people with political experience and decisionmaking ability; they have to be invested with full powers to be able to make prompt decisions. In this sense, the PD has empowered the political department to set up the following delegation: Adrian Severin, PD vice president; Victor Babiuc, PD secretary; Eugen Dijmarescu, PD secretary; Bogdan Niculescu-Duvaz, PD secretary; Cristian Radulescu, PD secretary; and Ilie Stefan, PD deputy.

We propose that the first meeting take place on 18 February 1994, at 1000 [0800 GMT] at PD Headquarters in Aleea Modrogan No. 1, Bucharest.

Looking forward to this desired dialogue, please accept the expression of our most distinguished sentiments.

President Petre Roman

14 February 1994

### Defense Minister Answers Tudor's Accusations

*AU1802142494 Bucharest COTIDIANUL in Romanian 10 Feb 94 pp 1,2*

[Cristian Rautu report: "The Accusations Are Gross Inventions"]

[Text] "Beginning with a personal request, Mr. Vadim Tudor [senator and president of the Greater Romania Party—PRM] has reached the point of a political war. I am an active military man, I am enjoined by the Constitution not to get involved in politics and I do not even intend to do that. Therefore, this war is waged unilaterally, without an adversary. All I can do is clarify things for the public, through decent means that are specific to the army. The accusations against me are gross inventions." This is a statement made by the minister of national defense, Lieutenant General Niculae Spiroiu, and was caused by the "war" being waged against the leadership of the Ministry of National Defense by Senator Corneliu Vadim Tudor through the pages of ROMANIA MARE and POLITICA.

Certainly it is unpleasant that such a stage has been reached. In similar situations, the prime minister of a Western government would have supported or dismissed one of the members of the government that he is heading, depending on whether the respective person had been accused without justification or had been accused on the basis of fact. Mr. Spiroiu chose a dignified way, rejecting point by point all the accusations against him. The Military Prosecuting Magistracy's investigation of the "Kent" affair has established that the renting of the storage rooms that belonged to the Autonomous Public Corporation "Romtechnica" (which is not subordinated to the Ministry of National Defense) was legal, the only violations resulted from customs tax evasion by Lebanese citizen Nassar Elias, who used fake stamps. The military cadres who are guilty of negligence, through which customs evasion could have been committed, have been removed from their positions and turned over to the appropriate legal authorities. The money representing the damage to the Romanian state was recovered entirely and Nassar Elias, after being arrested, paid a substantial penalty. The Lebanese citizen was able to benefit from the respective facilities because he was the brother of the person who represented Romania's best client, covering 95 percent of the "special" trade that any arms producing country practices.

The Ministry of National Defense leadership was also accused of reducing the country's combat capability, whereas Romania did nothing except reducing combat technology in accordance with the provisions of the programs established under international treaties approved in the parliament. The minister of defense also denied those accusations regarding the import of tanks from Israel. On the contrary, our country exports tanks, and Romania has not imported anything from Israel except special technology required for the modernization of MIG-21s in Bacau, and it seems that Israel is the country that will purchase the Romanian IAR-109 that is currently being tested. The army's supply of equipment is ensured 74 percent by the national defense industry, which guarantees to fulfill export orders and provide products intended for civilian use. Mr. Spiroiu affirmed that he could not possibly damage the prestige of the army through an argument with Vadim Tudor at various district Tribunals, and therefore, he preferred the action that he has currently chosen. The only effect of Vadim's attacks was that, as was said at the news conference, "nobody in the Military Command reads ROMANIA MARE anymore."

Regarding the Partnership for Peace, Mr. Spiroiu said that Romania derives no advantage whatever from being the first to sign the document. There follows now the drafting of the presentation documents (a stage finalized by the Ministry of National Defense) after which, in the second half of this year, the partnership "contract" will be signed. Certainly, the whole nation is concerned about what is currently happening in the former Yugoslavia. Eventually, a NATO intervention seems imminent. In this case, it is well known that international accords provide that, in the event of an intervention of NATO troops in a certain country the neighbors of that country should not become involved. The National Defense Ministry leadership believes that in case of Sarajevo one should take into consideration only political-diplomatic solutions.

Romania has signed seven international military accords. As was stated at the news conference, another accord with Spain will be signed in Madrid in March.

Mr. Spiroiu said that relations with Russia have continued uninterrupted. An accord with that country was missed twice. Once after the Moscow coup and the second time because of demonstrations in front of the Russian Embassy in Bucharest, where the Russian defense minister was expected. "An accord that is similar to the ones signed with the Netherlands and Spain will soon be concluded also with Russia," Mr.Spiroiu affirmed.

The restructuring process and the reform in the army also depend on the speed of implementation of the army law, the law on the status of conscripts, and people employed on a contract basis, as well as of four other specific laws. General Spiroiu claimed that structures similar to NATO will be achieved, that is, highly mobile units that would participate in actions under the aegis of the United Nations and CSCE.

Referring to a documentary broadcast on 30 December 1993 [on Marshal Antonescu's execution], the defense minister said that he did not know about it, although he is a government member and the respective documentary was produced by the government studios. As is known, the rehabilitation of General Antonescu provoked a certain reaction from Moses Rosen [chief rabbi of the Jewish Community of Romania], a reaction to which the minister of national defense did not respond because the military historians will do it and they will soon publish four volumes of documents referring to that troubled period in Romania's history.

It is worth mentioning that the Romanian Army contributed numerous documents to the Holocaust Museum in New York [city as published].

## Army Council Rejects 'Slanderous' Accusations

*AU2302163894 Bucharest Radio Romania Network in Romanian 1400 GMT 23 Feb 94*

[Text] The Army Higher Military Council met at the headquarters of the Ministry of National Defense today. A faxed communique from the Higher Military Council of the Romanian Army stresses that the meeting examined the attacks contained in the press communiques of the leadership of the Greater Romania Party [PRM] and in the slanderous and insulting articles published in the magazines owned by Mr. Corneliu Vadim Tudor—ROMANIA MARE and POLITICA—against generals and high-ranking officers in the leadership of the Ministry of National Defense, including the minister of defense. The speakers reported on the real situation in various spheres of military activity, about which these publications made denigrating allegations. The Higher Military Council considers those accusations totally groundless and an unprecedented act of political pressure aimed at hampering the implementation of the principles of reform in the military as well as the development of normal activities in the army.

The Higher Military Council also expresses its trust in the ministry's leadership and in the military cadres unjustly insulted and accused, the communique mentions among other things.

The Army Higher Military Council assures Romania's president, the other democratic institutions of the state, and the country's citizens that the army will remain an element of stability and support for the democratic progress of Romanian society, while persisting in continuing its own process of restructuring and modernization, despite all the inherent or artificially created hardships because of irresponsible actions—the faxed communique from the Army Higher Military Council points out in conclusion.

## Nastase Letter Supports Spokesman Chebeleu

*AU2102113694 Bucharest EVENIMENTUL ZILEI in Romanian 16 Feb 94 p 4*

[Adrian Halpert article: "In an Open Letter Adrian Nastase Assures Traian Chebeleu of His Support in Facing C.V. Tudor's 'Objectionable' Attacks"]

[Text] "Esteemed Ambassador Traian Chebeleu, I would like to reassure you on this occasion too, of the affection I nurture for you. It is my duty to say this now, at a moment when your life and the work carried out by you are denigrated publicly in an abominable manner," reads the open letter that Adrian Nastase, president of the Chamber of Deputies, sent to Traian Chebeleu, the spokesman of President Ion Iliescu.

Without spelling out the name C.V. Tudor—or of the magazine ROMANIA MARE, for that matter—Adrian Nastase vehemently disapproved of the calumnies published in the aforementioned weekly about the presidency's spokesman: "You will always be above such calumny which, as far as you are concerned, will never be approved or believed."

In conclusion of the document sent to Traian Chebeleu, Adrian Nastase mentions: "I choose this way to write to you because I also wish to sound the alarm signal that has not been heard for a long time. Without suggesting actions that would limit the rights and the power of the press, I believe that it is necessary for the newspaper guild to display an ethical and concrete solidarity that should isolate and eliminate from the journalistic world the filthy attack—no matter in what paper it is published—that is multiplied on the rotary printing press."

## Editorial Sees Danger in Tudor Coming to Power

*AU2102113794 Bucharest EVENIMENTUL ZILEI in Romanian 16 Feb 94 p 1*

[Ion Cristoiu editorial: "From Antigone to Traian Chebeleu"]

[Text] After a silence that was called by a Bucharest newspaper unexplainable, Traian Chebeleu answered

Corneliu Vadim Tudor's attacks. I do not want to stress the almost nine-page long text in which the Presidency's spokesman Traian Chebeleu finally fulfills one of his presumed duties: to be a man. However, I would like to remark that, after a quick glance at the text, I felt a certain exaggeration of the situation. Traian Chebeleu takes Corneliu Vadim Tudor's attack as a real classical tragedy. The ambassador appears before the broad public with a more disheveled face than Antigone. At one point, he reaches a stage when he apologizes to his family, relatives, and to his female and male colleagues with whom he used to work together. It is clear that he is moved by the flow of insults and calumnies that fell on his head. We would sympathize with him, cry together with him, and blow each other's noses, if the following problem did not crop up. For over two years several public figures in today's Romania, among them myself, have been defamed week after week by Corneliu Vadim Tudor. This pocket-size Zhirinovskiy however is the creation of President Ion Iliescu. Thanks to the president he revived from the political and journalistic death to which the 1989 revolution condemned him. Thanks to Ion Iliescu he won in the elections. Thanks to Ion Iliescu the legal bodies have not given justice to any of Corneliu Vadim Tudor's victims. Not even in the case that is crying to heaven through its clarity, namely the case of the former prosecutor general, Gheorghe Robu. How can the legal bodies start acting against Corneliu Vadim Tudor when he is the leader of a party that is allied with Ion Iliescu?! All this time, President Ion Iliescu has not made one single move that might indicate a break with Corneliu Vadim Tudor. Ion Iliescu was happily rubbing his hands every time the PRM [Greater Romania Party] leader was slandering his political adversaries. He accepted that the PRM senator should jump to his help with his journalistic filth every time a journalist or a politician dared to remark that the president also makes mistakes sometimes. This discreet complicity gave Corneliu Vadim Tudor the enthusiasm to do what he wants in political life and in the field of journalism. And now, when the wave of filth is turning against his collaborators, the president, through Traian Chebeleu, shows signs of unrest. Thus, no matter how much our souls would wish to deplore the presidency's spokesman, we can say nothing else except that his tragic posture is ridiculous. Just as ridiculous as the letter of solidarity addressed to Chebeleu by Adrian Nastase. As far as I know, Adrian Nastase is the leader of a party [PDSR—Social Democracy Party of Romania] that is allied with the PRM. He was, until recently, in close unity of ideas and feelings with Corneliu Vadim Tudor. Now, when one of the president's men is attacked, he sends that person a letter of solidarity. We would have expected something else from the man called Adrian Nastase. For example, we would have expected the radical move of a political breakup with the PRM. However, such a move involves certain risks, for example to lose the support granted to the PDSR by the PRM. How can Adrian Nastase assume such a risk? It is much more comfortable and cozy to send a letter of solidarity to Traian Chebeleu. I would have not written about the answer of the Presidency's spokesman if, in the end of his humdrum, he had not referred to my person and to the EVENIMENTUL ZILEI publication. Suddenly, sliding into the tricky field of psychology, Mr. Traian Chebeleu assumes that I have a spiritual impulse. Namely, that allegedly I have reproduced "with an undisguised pleasure" the insults and objectionable expressions used by Corneliu Vadim Tudor, in the several hundred thousand issues of the EVENIMENTUL ZILEI daily. Traian Chebeleu is just as poor a psychologist as a politician. The president's spokesman did not understand anything of our journalistic action. If the insult "oral sex" had been formulated by just any journalist, I would not have noticed it. As I have often mentioned in the columns of EVENIMENTUL ZILEI, the incredible insult belongs not to any journalist but a political figure, namely the leader of a party, moreover, who, through the goodwill of the PDSR, is also secretary of the Senate. More than that, taking into consideration the negotiations of the PDSR with its left-oriented allies, starting 1 March this person might become a minister. Both through the information published, as well as through my editorials I have drawn attention to the fact that we are facing an incredible case of degradation of Romanian political life. We have not simply reproduced Corneliu Vadim Tudor's despicable words, but published an information about an unusual event. Through this fact we warned not only about the hole into which Romanian political life might fall, but also about the idiotic things that Corneliu Vadim Tudor might commit once he gets to power.

### Vacaroiu, Trade Unions Discuss Demands

*AU2402085794 Bucharest Radio Romania Network in Romanian 1800 GMT 23 Feb 94*

[Text] Romanian Prime Minister Nicolae Vacaroiu met with representatives of the Cartel Alfa and the National Trade Union Bloc Confederations at Victoria Palace today. The meeting was attended by Mircea Dan Popescu, state minister and minister of labor and social protection; Emil Dima, president of the Administration Board of the State Property Fund; State Secretary Octavian Partenie, empowered by the government to handle relations with trade unions and employers; and states secretaries, directors, and experts from the Office for Liaison With Trade Unions and Employers and the Ministry of Labor and Social Protection.

The participants in the meeting discussed the conclusions drawn from negotiations on the points on the list of demands made by the two trade union confederations, especially the government's proposals to solve them.

Prime Minister Nicolae Vacaroiu presented the solutions proposed by the executive power to gradually solve the problems raised by the trade unions, which can be solved satisfactorily in the current economic situation.

The sides agreed on a greater involvement of trade unions in implementing the reform process, and especially in working out measures and solutions to alleviate social effects, a press release received from the Office for

Liaison With Trade Unions and Employers attached to Romania's Government specifies.

## SRI Director Replacing County Chiefs

*AU2402092294 Bucharest EVENIMENTUL ZILEI in Romanian 21 Feb 94 p 4*

[Dan Andronic item: "Virgil Magureanu Replaces the SRI Heads in Valcea, Braila, and Galati"]

[Text] Virgil Magureanu, director of the Romanian Intelligence Service [SRI], visited the counties of Dolj and Gorj a few days ago to replace the chiefs of the SRI in those counties. The tour is continuing.

Virgil Magureanu yesterday replaced the SRI director in Valcea, the official reason being the inefficient use of state funds. Sources close to the SRI leadership have informed us that in the coming days Virgil Magureanu will visit the counties of Braila and Galati for the same purpose: to replace the chiefs of the SRI in these two counties.

It is worth mentioning that the five chiefs of SRI branches are joined by a further two such chiefs, who were replaced in the counties of Neamt and Vaslui a few weeks ago.

## Croats, Muslims Agree to Cease-Fire

*LD2302190494 Zagreb HTV Television in Serbo-Croatian 1830 GMT 23 Feb 94*

[Text] Our colleague Zeljko Raic, who is covering the peace negotiations between General Ante Roso, commander of the Croatian Defense Council, and General Rasim Delic, commander of the Bosnia-Herzegovina Army, has just told us that a cease-fire agreement has been signed between the Croat and the Muslim sides in Bosnia-Herzegovina. The agreement takes effect on 25 February.

## Details of Agreement

*LD2302220794 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in Serbo-Croatian 2100 GMT 23 Feb 94*

[Passages within quotation marks are recorded]

[Excerpt] This evening, following lengthy talks, General Ante Roso, commander of the Croatian Defense Council, and General Rasim Delic, commander of the Muslim army, signed a peace agreement in the UN Protection Forces [UNPROFOR] headquarters at Zagreb airport. Tihomir Vinkovic reports:

[Vinkovic] Following six hours of talks an agreement has been reached whereby both sides agree that the cease-fire will take effect at noon on 25 February. All future offensives or attacks are ruled out. All propaganda pitting one side against the other must come to an end. The lines of contact will remain as they are at the time that the cease-fire comes into effect.

UNPROFOR will be positioned in sensitive areas to safeguard the implementation of the cease-fire. All heavy weaponry will be placed under UNPROFOR supervision or withdrawn from the lines of contact; mortars are to be moved 10 km away and and tanks and artillery 20 km away by noon on 7 March.

On 25 February a joint commission under UNPROFOR auspices will be set up in Kiseljak. This commission will work to solve points of dispute.

Following the signing of the agreement, General Ante Roso said:

[Roso] "A new time requires a new dialogue. I believe that this sums it up. As is written in the text, the cease-fire by noon of 25 February [sentence as heard]. It is laid down in a relatively detailed way. Further on, there is the technical part. I hope it will be realistically possible to implement what was signed today. Everything requires a period of time. Every beginning is the beginning of an end. Hence, this is a beginning. I believe that enough is said in my definition of this signature: a new time, new dialogue."

[Vinkovic] Rasim Delic said:

[Delic] "All this depends on the two of us, actually on those units and formations that are under our command. I think that the points stipulsted in the agreement and principles from the annex to the agreement are of a nature that will enable the implementation of all this. Of course, all this is to be implemented on the ground, and hard work remains to be done. I think that by this we are creating conditions for our politicians to reach an agreement which, I hope, they are going to do soon. This should be speeded up.

"As regards soldiers, they are always ready to put into practice agreements aimed at the political resolution of the issue of Bosnia-Herzegovina, which has been topical for such a long time."

[Vinkovic] The UN secretary general's special envoy Yasuhi Akashi, who attended the talks and witnessed the signing of the agreement in addition to UNPROFOR Generals Cot and Rose, called this moment an historical one. [passage omitted]

## UNPROFOR To Supervise

*LD2302234094 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 2100 GMT 23 Feb 94*

[Text] [Announcer] We begin this news bulletin with a report from Zagreb where a cease-fire agreement was signed today between representatives of the Bosnia-Herzegovina Army and the Croatian Defense Council [HVO].

[Reporter] The agreement on the cessation of combat activities between the Bosnia-Herzegovina Army and the HVO will go into effect on 25 February at 1200. This is stipulated by the agreement signed in Zagreb this evening after six hours of negotiations by the commanders of the Bosnia-Herzegovina Army and the HVO, Generals Rasim Delic and Ante Roso.

The agreement precludes all offensive operations and envisages the cessation of combat activities in all combat zones. UN Protection Forces [UNPROFOR] units are to be deployed along the separation lines in all the combat zones. Heavy artillery is to be placed under UNPROFOR supervision or withdrawn to a minimal distance from the front line—mortar launchers to a 10-km distance and tanks and heavy guns to a 20-km distance. A joint commission, presided over by UNPROFOR, will be formed beforehand, on the 25th, when the cease-fire goes into effect. The commission will be based in Kiseljak and its task will be to resolve disputed issues through UNPROFOR's mediation.

Butrus-Ghali's special envoy, Yasushi Akashi, declared that this evening's agreement was historic and that it will bring Bosnia-Herzegovina closer to a final peace.

[Presenter] We will acquaint you with this peace agreement in its entirety in continuation of our program. According to the Bosnia-Herzegovina Army's press center in Zagreb, the two delegations agreed the following:

The cease-fire, which includes an immediate and absolute cessation of hostilities, comes into effect at 1200 on 25 February of this year and envisages the following:

—There will be no further offensive activities or attacks;

—All forms of propaganda spread by each side against the other will cease;

—The separation lines and positions must remain as they were at the aforementioned time;

—UNPROFOR will be deployed in sensitive areas and at key locations in order to monitor the observance of the cease-fire agreement;

—All heavy weapons over 12.7 caliber shall either be placed under UNPROFOR supervision or withdrawn to a minimal distance from the separation lines by 1200 on 7 March—mortar launchers to a distance of 10 km and tanks and artillery to a distance of 20 km;

—A mixed commission presided over by UNPROFOR is to be formed to tackle the problems listed in the appendix which is an integral part of this agreement. The commission will be formed on 25 February 1994 in Kiseljak;

—The agreement also envisages measures to be implemented according to their order of priority: the opening of roads for the passage of humanitarian aid and UNPROFOR convoys, the passage of commercial and civilian traffic, especially, but not exclusively, between the following towns: Zenica-Stari Vitez, Mostar-Jablanica-Konjic-Sarajevo, Kiseljak-Vares, and Kiseljak-Bilalovac-Busovaca. Only the checkpoints on these roads will be controlled by UNPROFOR, although both sides will be permitted to man them as well;

—The disbanding of internment camps, the release of POW's and the exchange of bodies with the help of international organizations such as the International Red Cross;

—The unhindered and regular distribution of humanitarian aid by the UNHCR, including heating fuel for domestic consumption as well as the steady supply of water, electricity, and gas;

All the above-mentioned measures are to be taken with the aim of bringing living conditions of the population of Bosnia-Herzegovina back to normal. This agreement in no way prejudges political discussions or accords that could possibly take place or be reached in future.

It was also agreed that monthly, or more frequent, high-level meetings should take place between Generals Roso, Delic, and Rose, or their representatives in case they are prevented from attending.

The signing of the agreement was attended by the UN secretary general's special envoy, Yasushi Akashi, as well as UNPROFOR commanders, Generals Jean Cot and Michael Rose.

The Bosnia-Herzegovina delegation insisted in the talks on the withdrawal of regular Croatian troops from Bosnia-Herzegovina. This was rejected by General Roso who denied the presence of such forces on the territory of Bosnia-Herzegovina.

This was a report on the agreement signed by Generals Rasim Delic and Ante Roso in Zagreb today, which we received from the Bosnia-Herzegovina Army's press center.

## Serb Attacks Reported Despite NATO Ultimatum

*AU2402103994*

[Editorial Report] Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian at 0900 GMT on 24 February carries within its regular seven-minute newscast several reports on the situation in the republic.

A report by the Information Service of the 1st Corps of the Bosnia-Herzegovina Army read by correspondent Sead Curtovic speaks about "the activity of the Serbian aggressor in the protected zone of Sarajevo despite the NATO ultimatum" and says that "since last evening, the chetniks have violated the truce on several occasions, mostly provocations with infantry weapons. Late last night, a fragmentation mortar bomb was launched from chetnik positions at Bacici onto the Brijesce district. This morning, a [word indistinct] mortar has been in operation at Blekin Potok."

Hajrudin Sermic reports from Maglaj about the "great tragedy that occurred in Maglaj at about 1900 [1800 GMT]" when "a direct hit from a howitzer shell on a humanitarian institution, a health center, killed five people; 16 people were seriously wounded, most of them crippled. The casualties were the medical staff, ambulance drivers, nurses, and patients who were waiting for help to be administered." Finally, Sermic reports that "as of 0700 this morning, battles resumed unabated announcing another, even more difficult and bloody day. All defense lines have been attacked with the same ferocity, but the situation is worst in the region of Plane, Krsno Polje, and Lijesnica."

Mirza Sadikovic reports about "the Serb aggressor planning a long and exhausting offensive on the Bihac region, confirmed by last night and today's 19th day of incessant attacks on this part of the republic. Howitzer, tanks, all kinds of mortars, Zis and Bofors weapons, and antiaircraft weapons have the entire night pounded the defenders positions at the Grabez section of the front, as well as the Hasin Vrh and Grmusko-Srbljanski heights. Moreover, the chetniks continued the systematic destruction of the suburbs of the Bihac and Cazin communes, as well as the free section of the (?Bosanska Krupa) territory. Along the dividing lines with the remnants of the paramilitary formations of the so-called Kladusa autonomous region, provocations and activities of extremist groups were registered in all sectors last night."

## Rose Warns of Air Support for UN Soldiers

*AU2302122594 Paris AFP in English 1208 GMT 23 Feb 94*

[Text] Sarajevo, Feb 23 (AFP)—UN General Sir Michael Rose said Wednesday that close air support of UN soldiers under attack remained an option in Bosnia despite NATO's failure to use warplanes to defend Swedish troops.

Five Swedish soldiers of the United Nations Protection Force (UNPROFOR) were wounded when their convoy of armored personal carriers was attacked Tuesday near Ribnica in northern Bosnia.

NATO jets were dispatched to defend them but could not determine exactly whom to fire on since the mortar attack had come from a front line between Moslems and Serbs, UN officials said.

Rose, the UN commander for Bosnia, said in a statement read by his spokesman Wednesday: "Although the aircraft were not used in the final event it should be made clear to avoid any future misunderstanding or incident that when UNPROFOR convoys or personnel are engaged by any armed element they will be given the authority to engage targets. This may include the use of air."

The statement said Rose had written to both Serb and Moslem commanders "to emphasize that his troops continue to exercise freedom of movement throughout Bosnia. He has also reminded both sides that UNPROFOR is here to help the people of this country and that his troops are not here as combatants."

UNPROFOR spokesman Bill Aikman said it was not the first time NATO planes had moved in for close air support.

An officer on the staff of the overall UN commander for the former Yugoslavia, French General Jean Cot, said NATO jets were near Ribnica and quickly at the confrontation site. But he said that in the 100-metre (yard) zone in which they isolated the source of fire, there were both Moslem and Serb positions.

Cot told AFP that since this would have been the first actual close air support firing by NATO planes: "We have no right to make a mistake. Imagine the catastrophe if we had bombed the wrong side."

Aikman denied reports that Rose had in fact called for air strikes and was overruled by Cot. He said this was "totally not the case." He said none of the injuries to the Swedes was "life-threatening."

## Serb General Denies Army Fired on Swedish Unit

*LD2302115894 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1042 GMT 23 Feb 94*

[Excerpt] Zvornik, 23 Feb (TANJUG)—Major General Manojlo Milovanovic, chief of staff of the main headquarters of the Srpska republic army, told TANJUG today that the Serb side had not opened fire on members of UNPROFOR's [UN Protection Forces] Swedish unit yesterday.

"According to coordinates given by Gen. Angus Ramsey, UNPROFOR's chief of staff for former Bosnia-Herzegovina, it is clear that this attack launched from antiaircraft weapons could have not been launched by the Srpska republic army," Milovanovic said.

UNPROFOR said that the attack took place at the village of Ribnica (coordinates 9010), four kms northeast of Kakanj; the nearest Serb position is 22 kms as the crow flies, he stressed.

"Despite indisputable facts, Gen. Ramsey threatened on several occasions last night and yesterday that he would personally authorize NATO air strikes on Serbs," Gen. Milovanovic said.

However, he added, Gen. Michael Rose, commander of UNPROFOR in former Bosnia-Herzegovina, reacted adequately and demanded a detailed investigation of yesterday's incident.

"I am certain that the investigation will confirm that the Serb side did not fire on the Swedes," Milovanovic said. [passage omitted]

## General: Serbs Withdrew 60 Percent of Weapons

*BR2402115494 Rome LA REPUBBLICA in Italian 24 Feb 94 p 17*

[Interview with General Jovan Divjak by Vanna Vannuccini; place and date not given: "'Serb Guns Still in Position'"]

[Text] Sarajevo—*Jovan Divjak is the Bosnian Army's second-in-command. A Serb from Belgrade and a former general in the Yugoslav Army, he opted for the Bosnian side because he shares the principles of tolerance and multiethnicity that Bosnia and Serbia have always supported.*

[Vannuccini] General Divjak, a few days ago you were pessimistic. How do you judge the situation now?

[Divjak] I was not pessimistic. I was realistic. The interests of Russia, Europe, and the United States intersect in Bosnia. The international community's main fear is that the conflict will spread. As for Sarajevo, very little has changed, because the city is still surrounded, though people are no longer dying as before.

[Vannuccini] From the military viewpoint, are you satisfied with the withdrawal of the Serbian weapons?

[Divjak] Not at all. They have not withdrawn, or placed under UNPROFOR [UN Protection Forces] supervision, even 60 percent of those that they had. UNPROFOR said this morning that it was "surprised" to discover some 60 placements that it had not seen before. The Serbs had 100 tanks around Sarajevo, and they have withdrawn 30 of them.

[Vannuccini] But, General, it was you who signed the agreement with Serbian Commander Mladic at the airport.

[Divjak] This is what happened: On the evening of 8 February UNPROFOR's commander in Bosnia, General Rose, asked us for an urgent meeting. He assured us that the Serbs had accepted all the conditions set by UNPROFOR, from the truce to the withdrawal of heavy weapons or their supervision by the blue helmets. Since I realized that the general was acting in accordance with the British Government's policy, I told Rose that I would prefer to await NATO's decision before meeting with Mladic at the airport. But Rose went to President Izetbegovic and put pressure on him for us to attend. The meeting at the airport lasted 15 minutes. There was nothing on paper, so each side can interpret the agreement however it pleases. The fact is that UNPROFOR tried to create political solutions on the ground in order to implement the Owen-Stoltenberg plan. It is Bosnia's ill fortune that in order to keep the Serbs happy UNPROFOR places Bosnia on the same level as the aggressors.

[Vannuccini] Are you afraid that the Serbs could take back their weapons?

[Divjak] The Serbs have around Sarajevo 12,000 men who are still fully armed. We have 45,000, but we have only one weapon for every three soldiers. And the Serbian artillery can hit Sarajevo from over 20 km away. They have rockets that have a range of 70 km. Our only real guarantee is NATO's ultimatum.

### Sarajevo 'Still Besieged'

*AU2302202494 Paris AFP in English 1959 GMT 23 Feb 94*

[By Michael Adler]

[Text] Sarajevo, Feb 23 (AFP)—A senior Bosnian general charged here Wednesday that Serb forces have failed to withdraw a third of their heavy guns from Sarajevo. The comments by General Jovan Divjak, second in command of the mainly Moslem Bosnian army, came as UN officials said significant amounts of artillery remain despite the expiration Monday of NATO's ultimatum to pull out heavy weapons or face air strikes.

"UNPROFOR (UN Protection Force) played a trick on the Bosnian government and Bosnian army," Divjak told AFP. UNPROFOR troops monitoring the situation say Serbs besieging Sarajevo have honored the ultimatum.

"Even at this moment the Bosnian Serbs have not withdrawn all their weaponry," he said. He estimated the amount left at from 30 to 35 percent of what was aimed at Sarajevo before the ultimatum. Divjak charged that half of the guns deployed were simply taken to other fronts, namely battlegrounds in Olovo, 30 kilometres (18 miles) north of Sarajevo, and Bihac in northwest Bosnia.

Serb soldiers in the Sarajevo suburb of Ilidza were "begging our soldiers to open fire on them so that they could return fire and not be withdrawn from Sarajevo front lines and sent to Olovo," Divjak said.

He stressed that Sarajevo was "still besieged" by 12,000 well-armed Serb soldiers. Moslem defenders number 45,000. Only 12,000 of these are armed but still less well than the Serbs, Divjak added.

UNPROFOR spokesman Canadian Lieutenant-Colonel Bill Aikman presented reporters Wednesday with a long list of weapons sites still being investigated. Aikman said there was a "surprising" amount of Serb heavy weaponry left in "every location imaginable" around Sarajevo. The problem was that "a lot of these positions are in deep snow, ice, in rugged terrain," he said. He said some artillery was literally "frozen in position" and could not be pulled out until there was a thaw.

But he said this did not mean Serb troops were not complying with the ultimatum since Sarajevo was no longer being shelled.

UNPROFOR has said the Serbs have handed in over 260 weapons while the number for the Moslems is over 45.

### Resisting Units Finally Withdraw

*AU2302202694 Paris AFP in English 1934 GMT 23 Feb 94*

[Text] Pale, Bosnia-Herzegovina, Feb 23 (AFP)—Three Bosnian Serb units who resisted putting their heavy arms under UN control in the Sarajevo region for three days finally withdrew the weapons on orders of their headquarters, a Bosnian Serb general said Wednesday.

Dusan Kovacevic, the Bosnian Serbs' "defense minister," told AFP the problem was resolved peacefully late Tuesday at Osijek, near Ilidza, a western suburb of the Bosnian capital, after the units received orders from their military headquarters.

"These arms were withdrawn deep into our territory, not to any particular destination, and will not be used at any point along the front unless the Moslems (Moslem-led Bosnian government forces) launch a general offensive against the Serbs," the general said.

He denied reports in Sarajevo that the Serbs had moved the arms toward the Olovo front, 60 kilometers (35 miles) north of Sarajevo, where fierce clashes broke out between Serbs and Moslems in November and December.

Journalists who witnessed the settlement said the soldiers had refused to turn in their weapons unless UN peacekeepers deployed along the front line.

The confrontation began Sunday, in the run-up to the expiration of a NATO-imposed deadline to Bosnian Serbs to withdraw their weapons from around Sarajevo or put them under UN control by midnight GMT, or face air strikes.

The recalcitrant units were based at Ilidza, Grbavica, the only part of central Sarajevo under Serb control, and in the northern part of the front lines.

### Many Serb Positions Still Not Under Control

*AU2302162694 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 1400 GMT 23 Feb 94*

[Text] UN helicopters, which have been overflying the hills around Sarajevo for the past 48 hours, have discovered 66 sites occupied by the Serbian aggressor's heavy artillery. The UN Protection Forces [UNPROFOR] patrols on the ground have discovered another 55 similar sites. Frozen guns and howitzers are located in many of these sites, and several days will be needed to haul them away.

According to UNPROFOR representative Colonel Bill Aikman, another 12 sites with Serbian artillery have still not been placed under control, although this should have been accomplished before the expiration of the deadline in the night from Sunday to Monday. Colonel Aikman said that two incidents with Karadzic's Serbs had occurred yesterday. The Serbs came to two sites and demanded that they be allowed to haul away the heavy artillery. After the UNPROFOR soldiers had refused to allow them to do so, they withdrew without causing further problems.

### UNPROFOR Issues List

*AU2302165094 Paris AFP in English 1615 GMT 23 Feb 94*

[Excerpt] Sarajevo, Feb 23 (AFP)—[passage omitted] NATO declared the heavy guns withdrawal a success last Monday, the day strikes against artillery were to begin. But [UNPROFOR spokesman] Aikman presented reporters Wednesday with a long list of weapons sites still being investigated. He also said a reported mortar attack in Sarajevo Tuesday was under investigation.

Aikman said there was a "surprising" amount of Serb heavy weapons still left in "every location imaginable" around Sarajevo. The problem was that "a lot of these positions are in deep snow, ice, in rugged terrain," he said. He said some artillery was literally "frozen in position" and could not be pulled out until there was a thaw.

But he said this did not mean Serb troops besieging Sarajevo were not complying with the ultimatum since Sarajevo was no longer being shelled.

Air reconnaissance, including helicopters, had over the past 48 hours found 66 sites. Twelve of these were non-weapons, 42 turned out to be either abandoned or non-weapons sites, at one there was an inoperable weapon, one was still to be verified and 10 of the sites were taken over by UN troops.

UN ground patrols were dealing with 55 sites, of which 23 were abandoned or non-weapons, two had inoperable weapons, four had weapons which patrols would have to neutralize, nine were taken over by UNPROFOR, eight were large collection centers and nine were yet to be verified. This left a total of 12 sites where weapons were still to be checked, Aikman said.

He also said Serb soldiers had come to two of the weapons collection sites asking to retrieve the artillery they had surrendered in order to take it out of the 20-kilometres (12-mile) exclusion zone around the Bosnian capital.

He said they came in vehicles to load up the guns but were turned back by UN soldiers. There was no violence. He identified one site as at Krivoglavci, just northwest of Sarajevo, but did not name the second site.

Aikman also said UNPROFOR was investigating a reported mortar shelling of Sarajevo. The Bosnian Army said an 82-mm mortar shell hit the Brekin Potok neighborhood in northeast Sarajevo at about 9 PM (0800 GMT) [times as received] Tuesday. Aikman said that if confirmed this attack on the front-line that runs in and around the city "would cause some action (by UNPROFOR or NATO) but what action it would be I don't know."

Meanwhile, there was fighting in another Bosnian hotspot, Tuzla. Aikman said nine shells fell there, two very close to the airfield that NATO has said is to be opened to humanitarian flights on March 7. Serb forces and Serbia oppose reopening this airport.

In Zagreb, UNPROFOR said a French UN unit was to be deployed Wednesday around a bridge on the border between Croatia and Bosnia blocked by about 100 secessionist Serbs for almost a week.

Two contingents of UN troops, comprising Jordanians and Argentines, were placed on alert Tuesday because of mounting tension at the site.

About 100 Serb police and soldiers have held the bridge over the River Sava since they overpowered a UN control post manned by Nepalese troops on Friday. [passage omitted]

### Plavsic Urges Serbs To Resist Tuzla Ultimatum

*LD2302180794 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1618 GMT 23 Feb 94*

[Text] Belgrade, 23 Feb (TANJUG)—Srpska republic vice president Biljana Plavsic told SRNA [Bosnian Serb news agency] that if the Serbs succumbed to NATO's

ultimatum-like demands for the opening of Tuzla airport, such pressure would turn into a common practice of snatching the remaining Serb territories in former Bosnia-Herzegovina.

According to her, the Serbs should condition the opening of Tuzla airport for humanitarian needs on the closure of land corridors bound for that town, which are now functioning perfectly well.

She added that the Serbs have aready paid a high price for conceding Sarajevo airport to the United Nations; this particularly refers to the transport of wounded Serbs, who now need three and a half hours to reach hospital instead of 30 minutes as was the case before.

### UN: Airport Not To Reopen Before 18 Mar

*AU2302194094 Paris AFP in English 1918 GMT 23 Feb 94*

[Text] Sarajevo, Feb 23 (AFP)—The UN Protection Force (UNPROFOR) does not expect to reopen the Serb-besieged Tuzla airport for relief flights before March 18, rather than March 7 as stated earlier, an UNPROFOR official said Wednesday.

An aide to UNPROFOR chief General Jean Cot said the March 7 date, given on Sunday by the UN chief of peacekeeping operations, Kofi Annan, "only relates to the arrival of the UN first troops" from the Nordic Battalion at the airport.

A full handover of the airport in northeastern Bosnia to the UN peacekeepers "is not expected until March 17, and the first flight on March 18 at the earliest," he said.

"We have not made this timetable public, as it is still not final," he continued. "There could be further delays for a number of reasons, for example if we run into difficulties getting supplies. If that happens, public opinion will be quick to complain about the lack of political will."

Earlier Tuesday, General Cot told reporters that Annan "should speak to me before making statements. Give us a bit of time."

The strategic Tuzla airport, which lies in a Moslem-led Bosnian enclave, has been closed since May 1992 by Serb shelling. The Nordic Battalion of 1,000 Swedish and Danish troops has been working for three months on a plan to reopen the airport.

### General Mladic on West's Involvement in Bosnia

*LD2402132394 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1117 GMT 24 Feb 94*

[Text] Banja Luka, 24 Feb (TANJUG)—Colonel General Ratko Mladic, chief of staff of the army of the republic of Srpska, said today that the opening of Tuzla airport can only be discussed in conjunction with the opening of airports in the Srpska republic. He added that the West is trying to deny the Serbs their right to self-defense. "They passed their resolution to ban flights, even for pregnant women and wounded and exhausted people. They do not even think of opening Serb airports, although they want to open Tuzla airport, through which they would send vast quantities of weapons, ammunition, and mercenaries to the Muslims," he said in an interview to KRAJISKI VOJNIK.

"We are going to discuss Tuzla airport bilaterally as well as with representatives of the international community in the context of making Banja Luka airport and other airports in the Srpska republic operational," is his categorical message in the interview which the magazine of the 1st Krajina Corps will publish toward the end of this week.

In his words, the West "will do many things although they do not need Tuzla airport since they are already successfully using the airport in Ancona, Frankfurt, and so forth. Every day and night they are airdropping everything the Muslims need. They are delivering the same things through all kinds of convoys."

In Mladic's opinion, the West will take advantage of the fabricated problem of Tuzla airport in order to bring pressure to bear on Serb policies, the Serb people, and their army.

"The West is implementing its plan for dismantling the former Yugoslavia and crushing the resistance of our people in various ways, devised in protracted wars in Africa, Asia, and other continents."

Mladic is of the opinion that the West believes in its own mission of arranging the world in line with its criteria. If what they have done thus far is anything to go by, we can expect new threats, he said.

Asked about the NATO ultimatum, he said that there is a great deal of manipulation surrounding this word: "At a meeting with General Jean Cot I saw NATO's decision. It does not mention the word ultimatum. Nor is it addressed to the Serb side alone ... NATO had no reason to take such decisions or to issue ultimata to the Serb side because the Serb people have not declared war on anyone, because the Serb people are conducting this war in the same way they conducted previous wars—following a declaration of war by our previous neighbors under the conductor's baton of their sponsors among the ranks of German and Islamic countries."

"I believe that the West has not 'learned a lesson from its disgrace' in saying that a state that was a founding member of the United Nations no longer exists and that its external borders are no longer valid, which denies the Serb people's right to have its own state, although it had a state long before those who are now deciding our fate."

Speaking about having placed the Serb artillery under UN control, General Mladic stressed that the Serb side has again displayed a maximum of understanding to find a solution to the crisis in a peaceful way within the UN Security Council.

"... Our weapons will be under UN control, which does not mean that we will not defend ourselves if attacked.

We will defend ourselves with all means at our disposal and ... the guarantee of our survival is not someone's will, but our force and our unity."

Asked whether NATO air strikes against Muslim and Croat positions are possible, Mladic replied he does not think so, because "they cannot strike against their satellites."

"They are their extended arm," he said. "Muslims and Croats were trained in their countries and are carrying out their tasks in the Balkans. It is true that they started fighting between themselves, but the West will calm them down in another way. They have other trump cards for them."

Mladic assessed the deployment of Russian UN troops in Sarajevo as "a significant event in the international political arena," saying that a major power is rightly at the center of developments.

The presence of the regular Croatian Army in former Bosnia-Herzegovina is worrying and the situation cannot be resolved until these forces are withdrawn outside the borders of former Bosnia-Herzegovina, he said.

"By pursuing the disastrous Croatian Democratic Community policy and by resurrecting the ustasha movement on the territory of former Croatia, the Croats brought the Serb people into an unenviable position by attacking them. But neither are the Croat people in a better position, because on the territory of former Bosnia-Herzegovina they live in 14 separate enclaves, forced to fight," General Mladic concluded.

## Doboj, Maglaj, Bihac Offensives Continue

*AU2302161494*

[Editorial Report] Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian at 1400 GMT on 23 February carries in its regular 32-minute newscast the following reports updating the fighting in the republic.

Doboj correspondent Mirudin Aldobasic reports on the situation in the 7-South Operative Group operational zone and says that "the chetniks are still fiercely attacking Maglaj and the surrounding villages. They are using tanks, artillery, and infantry weapons. [Words indistinct] the town center, but also the civilian residential areas in the Maglaj area. The defense positions at (?Bijela Foca), Jovici, Krsno Polje, Pazarici, and Nekolj are being targeted. However, the defenders of the 201st Chivalrous Brigade are successfully repelling all the attacks. The fighting is still in progress as I file this report.

"The enemy this morning resumed fierce attacks on the Doboj front. He attacked the defense lines from the agricultural cooperative Putnikovo Brdo to (?Karus). The members of the 203d Motorized Brigade Doboj-Bosna are successfully repelling the attacks, while the members of the Croatian Defense Council 110th Glorious Usora Brigade are repelling the enemy attacks at Raskrsce and (?Svaline) which began in the afternoon hours. The Tesanj area is also exposed to fierce enemy attacks. The town itself was shelled this morning, and the defense lines in the region of Bandera, Plandiste, and [name indistinct] have also been attacked."

Bihac correspondent Mirza Sadikovic reports that "there is not a single inch of territory on the forward defense lines running from the Grmusko-Srbljanski plateau, Hasin Vrh, and Grabez to the barracks on Grabez that was not hit by at least one shell. Since the morning hours, Bihac and its outskirts are being destroyed by howitzers, mortars, multiple rocket launchers, and Bofors. The material damage is immense and there is a significant number of casualties." He says that the members of the Bosnia-Herzegovina Army 5th Corps have today stopped fresh chetnik attacks at Grabez and Hasin Vrh, which were directly supported from the area of the so-called Serbian autonomous province of Krajina. "In addition to this," says Sadikovic, "provocations intensified on the demarcation lines with the remains of the para-army of the so-called Kladusa autonomy. According to the Velika Kladusa War Presidency, all those who in any way supported the Bosnia-Herzegovina Army were arrested."

The studio announcer says that "at 1050 [0950 GMT] the ustashas from Kiseljak launched a fierce artillery attack at Fojnica."

Dino Polic reports on the situation there and says that "the ustasha criminals from the area of Trilj, [name indistinct], emptied a multiple rocket launcher round of ammunition, comprised of 12 107-mm shells, on the town. The consequences of this cowardly shelling are several lightly and seriously injured citizens, two of whom are Croats. The material damage is immense."

## 'Fiercest Chetnik Attack' in Maglaj

*AU2302124694 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 1100 GMT 23 Feb 94*

[Report by the Information Center of the 7th South Operations Group of the Bosnia-Herzegovina Army]

[Text] The enemy started tank-infantry attacks in the valleys of the rivers Bosna, Usora, and Spreca. Since this morning Maglaj and the surrounding area have been in the most serious situation. Namely, from several directions the aggressor has been using all available weapons in attacks on defense positions of the Maglaj defenders, the town center, and the surrounding area. This is actually the fiercest chetnik attack on the town since the beginning of the war. The enemy initiated these forceful attacks from Mt. Ozren, Brankovici, and Novi Seher.

The enemy has also been attacking free Doboj territories from several directions since this morning. From Mt. Ozren and all other strongholds the enemy has attempted a breakthrough at the river mouth [usce] near Doboj. The chetniks are also attacking free Tesanj territories, where the defense positions in [word indistinct] Kosa have been targeted from the direction of Vidkovac.

Members of the 110th Brigade of the Croatian Defense Council in Usora have also been defending their positions bravely this morning, as the chetniks have attempted breakthroughs in the region of Bandera.

There is no peace on free Teslic territories, where the defense positions of Teslic defenders and civilian settlements have been attacked.

### Over 20 Civilians Killed

*AU2402154894 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 1400 GMT 24 Feb 94*

[Report by Smajl Terzic from Tesanj]

[Text] The last 24 hours in the operational zone of the 7th South Operative Group have been the worst since the start of the [Serb] enemy offensive. The aggressor has continuously pounded civilian targets in Tesanj, Maglaj, Sije, Mravici, Matuzici, Jelah, Kalosevic, and Miljanovci. The shells have killed over 20 civilians, and wounded about 100 innocent people.

The entire 30-kilometer-long defense line has been pounded with hundreds of shells, but the worst situation was in the operational zone of the 201st Chivalrous Brigade in the region of Plana, Lijesnica, and (Nekoli), and in the operational zones of the 203d Glorious Motorized Brigade Doboj-Bosnia, the 110th Glorious Brigade HVO Usora, and on the southern sector of the the 200th Chivalrous Brigade in the region of Kraljevo Brdo, Bandera, and Borik.

Let us add at the end of this report that today it is eight months that this region has been besieged, this region where people are dying of hunger and deprivation. We appeal to all who can and want to help these suffering people to send in food and medicine.

### 'Chetnik Reinforcements' Arriving

*AU2302201094*

[Editorial Report] Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian at 1800 GMT on 23 February carries in its regular 31-minute newscast two reports updating the situation on the Maglaj and Gornji Vakuf fronts.

Maglaj correspondent Hajrudin Sermic reports that "the coordinated chetnik and Croatian Defense Council soldiers' attacks at Maglaj continue unabated in the evening hours. After the infantry attacks were repelled, constant bombardment of the civilian population and defense lines from howitzers, tanks, and mortars resumed. This is one of the hardest days of the war on the Maglaj front, yet it is just the beginning of a large-scale and long-term offensive. This is confirmed by the constant influx of chetnik reinforcements from Modrica, Doboj, Banjluka, and the concentration of tanks in (7Tulnica), Medjici, and Brankovci. The soldiers and the people of Maglaj are resolved to defend their town and they will fight to the end."

Gornji Vakuf correspondent Atif Agic reports that "sudden shelling from mortars and tanks was registered in the village of Privora in the vicinity of Gornji Vakuf, and it was accompanied by constant antiaircraft gun, antiaircraft machine gun, and sniper fire. Of course, the Gornji Vakuf town center was not spared. It was shelled from 60-mm and 82-mm mortars. The ustashas also shelled the residential buildings in the village of Purici with recoilless guns and mortars. The defense lines are stable."

### 'Barbaric' Attacks Near Tuzla

*AU2402115994 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 1100 GMT 24 Feb 94*

[Report by Abdulah Cvikanovic from Kalesija]

[Text] The aggressor continued his barbaric attacks at the free Kalesija territory yesterday and last night. About 200 most destructive projectiles were fired and there was fire from tanks, howitzers, mortars, antiaircraft machine guns, and antiaircraft guns. All chetnik strongholds were in operation and the targets were, apart from the defense lines, Tuzla airport and the settlements of Vukovije, Medjas, Kalesija Center, and Zukici. There was huge material damage, particularly on family and economic buildings, and the town industrial zone has been almost razed.

The aggressor is continuing his fierce artillery attacks as I report. The defenders are energetically responding and virtual artillery duels are being carried out.

### Dangers for NATO Planes Overflying Bosnia

*AU2302213894 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 23 Feb 94 p 13*

[Article by G.R.: "The Dangers of Low Flight"]

[Text] The Western military alliance has still not given the signal for the end of danger in Bosnia, and the people in the military leadership of the Bosnian Serbs are aware of this. During the past week they have been warning that "attacks against our positions will not pay off for the possible aggressor." The prevalent opinion in the Srpska republic army is that in case of an attack, every tenth "steel bird" in a squadron comprising 60 to 70 planes would not return to base.

If the NATO planes overflying Serbian positions as part of the "Deny Flight" operation were given the order to unload their deadly cargo, they would have to descend to an altitude of 20,00 meters due to the fog and snow in the Sarajevo area, at which point they would become an easy target for the Serbian artillery and various antiaircraft defense systems. The Srpska republic army currently has in its possession 20-mm, 23-mm, 30-mm (Praga), 40-mm (Bofors), and 57-mm antiaircraft guns. The "Bofors" are the most precise ones, because they have a laser rangefinder device combined with an "Erickson" radar.

The missile batteries are comprised of SA-2 missile systems with an 18 km vertical, and a 50 km horizontal range; SA-3 missile systems with a 15 km vertical, and a

25 km horizontal range; SA-6 missile systems with an 18 km vertical and 60 km horizontal range; and SA-9 missile systems with a 5 km vertical, and 7 km horizontal range. The SA-6 and SA-9 missiles can be maneuvered. In addition to this, the popular Arrows (SA-7), Russian "Needles," and the U.S. portable systems, the well-known "Stingers," are stationed in around 100 significant buildings in the Srpska republic. Owing to sensitivity to electronic jamming, the missile systems are combined with guns and portable antiaircraft projectiles [as published].

Antiaircraft guns cannot be electronically jammed, therefore, these weapons, when properly masked and entrenched, could pose a significant threat to the low-flying NATO planes piloted by Englishmen, Turks, Frenchmen, Americans.... According to certain information, NATO pilots already have some 200 targets in the Srpska republic marked on their maps which would be bombed in case an order to launch air strikes were issued. The Western military alliance's threats are, according to the latest information, still topical. That is why the public is still speculating what would happen if the Bosnian Serbs were to take UN Protection Force troops as hostages in the event of air strikes. According to Bosnia-Herzegovina Presidency member Ejup Ganic, if this situation were to arise, the NATO planes (Falcons, Tornadoes, Mirages....) would bomb military targets in Serbia, bridges, and the Banja Luka suburbs.

Luckily, NATO did not have to go through with this "baptism of fire," but its planes continue to "slash" the skies over Bosnia. The United Nations is planning to open Tuzla airport for traffic on 7 March. According to UN information, this operation again envisages the participation of the Western military alliance's planes.

### Mladic Hails Presence of Russian Troops

*LD2302163794 Pale Srpski Radio-Televizija Studio Sarajevo Radio in Serbo-Croatian 1400 GMT 23 Feb 94*

[Text] Lieutenant Colonel General Ratko Mladic, commander in chief of the Srpska republic army, today inspected Srpska republic army units in the 1st Krajina Corps' operational zone. In a talk with reporters, General Mladic commented on the latest events in Sarajevo following NATO's ultimatum to the Serbs to withdraw their heavy artillery from around the city. A report by our correspondent Dragan Stekic:.

[Stekic] General Mladic visited the fighters and officers of the 1st Krajina Corps in the course of his regular tour. Accompanied by the commander of this corps, Lieutenant Colonel General Momir Talic, the commander in chief inspected a number of units on Mount Ozren and the Doboj and Teslic fronts, and expressed satisfaction at the morale of the fighters and their resolve to defend the borders of the Srpska republic and counter any threats to Serb territories.

In a brief meeting with reporters, General Mladic commented on the latest developments on the fronts around Sarajevo and the placing of Serb heavy artillery under the supervision of the UN Protection Forces [UNPROFOR]:

[begin recording] [Mladic] We have displayed the maximum understanding this time to peacefully resolve the war drama on the territory of the former Yugoslavia and the former Bosnia-Herzegovina. It has never even crossed our minds to leave the people in the lurch and at the mercy of our enemy's whims. What they and their sponsors had in store for us became evident in the past stages of this war. Therefore, our weapons will be supervised by UN forces, which does not mean that we will not defend ourselves if attacked. We will defend ourselves with all available means. The guarantee for our survival is our might and our unity, not anybody's will.

[Stekic] UNPROFOR's Russian troops are now deployed along the separation lines. Are they enough of a guarantee for the maintenance of the truce in this area?

[Mladic] If I were to judge, I would describe this as a major international development. I believe that a great world power has every right to be in the focus of events in this region in these difficult times. I think that the presence of Russian troops in the role of peacekeepers will significantly contribute to the equal treatment of all sides in the conflict in future, in contrast to the international community's present one-sided approach to our enemies—the Muslims and the Croats and their armies—and the maximum logistical support and media coverage they are receiving.

[Stekic] In your view, is there a possibility NATO might strike against Muslim and Croat positions?

[Mladic] [Chuckles] Hardly. They would never strike against their satellites. They [Muslims and Croats] belong to them. They have been preparing for war in their countries, they are toeing their line, obeying their orders. They are their extended hand in the Balkans. Why would they pound them? True, they have been at each other's throats, but they [NATO] know how to keep them in line. They have ways of dealing with them if things get out of hand. [end recording]

### Muslims To Demand Other Troops With Russians

*LD2302140194 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1316 GMT 23 Feb 94*

[Text] Belgrade, Feb 23 (TANJUG)—Moslems in Bosnia-Herzegovina will, according to their leader Alija Izetbegovic, demand that following the arrival of the Russian peace-keepers troops from other countries come and join UNPROFOR [UN Protection Force].

"If the Russians can come, then why should not the Turks also come," Izetbegovic said in the Vrijeme Ratno program of the Moslem television in Sarajevo.

Four hundred Russian peace-keeping troops have been in the Sarajevo area since Sunday.

The Russian peace-keepers came on the basis of an agreement between Bosnian Serbs and Moscow in order to secure ceasefire following the withdrawal of heavy artillery of the Bosnian Serb republic agreed on February 9 with UNPROFOR and the Moslem side.

Commenting the arrival of the Russian peace-keepers, Izetbegovic said he "trusts them as much as he does (trust) UNPROFOR."

Izetbegovic said the Moslems have accepted the arrangement for Sarajevo because it "has already been agreed it (Sarajevo) will be placed under U.N. administration" and that this formula will be applied to Mostar, the site of Moslem-Croat fighting in southwestern Bosnia-Herzegovina.

According to him, the Moslem government will, when other towns are concerned, "think twice whether it will accept the formula since it could freeze the actual situation in the field."

## Demirel Confirms Turkey Ready To Send Troops

*AU2302205594 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 1800 GMT 23 Feb 94*

[Text] Here is a news item that has just arrived. President of the Bosnia-Herzegovina Presidency Alija Izetbegovic today held a telephone conversation with Turkish President Suleyman Demirel. The Turkish president conveyed to President Izetbegovic his country's readiness to send Turkish troops as a part of the UN Protection Forces [UNPROFOR] to help carry out the peace mission in Bosnia-Herzegovina. In reply to a question about the possible application of the Sarajevo model to other cities, Izetbegovic said that this model was acceptable with certain alterations which envisage the consistent implementation of Resolutions 824 and 836, which oblige the aggressor's side to place heavy weaponry under UNPROFOR control.

## Karadzic Writes Butrus-Ghali on UN in Sarajevo

*LD2402130294 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1211 GMT 24 Feb 94*

[Text] Belgrade, 24 Feb (TANJUG)—President of the Srpska republic Radovan Karadzic today called on UN Secretary General Butrus-Ghali to use his influence on the Security Council and prevent the adoption of a resolution on UN administration of Sarajevo before details on that issue have been agreed upon at the Geneva peace negotiations on Bosnia. At the same time the Bosnian Serb leader appealed to Butrus-Ghali to speed up these negotiations.

In a letter to Butrus-Ghali, a copy of which was forwarded to TANJUG today, Karadzic recalls that the Bosnian Muslims refused to talk about the UN administration of Sarajevo at the last round of Geneva talks. Therefore, according to him, the Serb side believes that the UN Security Council resolution ought not to precede negotiations on that issue in Geneva. "Otherwise, a solution which would be unacceptable for any one side could create obstacles for the peace process."

Karadzic said that "the peace process in Sarajevo is proceeding according to plan," and that the Sarajevo model, if successfully applied in the future, could serve as a useful model for other parts of former Bosnia-Herzegovina.

"The cease-fire which is currently in force has been the most successful of all those agreed in Sarajevo," the president of the Srpska republic concluded.

## Sarajevo Mayor: Partition Would Be 'Catastrophe'

*AU2302090594 Vienna ORF Television Network in German 2105 GMT 22 Feb 94*

[Interview with Sarajevo Mayor Muhamed Kresevljakovic by Robert Hochner in the Vienna studio on 22 February—live; Kresevljakovic speaks in Serbo-Croatian with simultaneous German translation]

[Text] [Hochner] Good evening. Mr. Mayor, what do you feel when you see Russian troops in your city? What do you think the role of Russia could be in pacifying Bosnia?

[Kresevljakovic] In my own name, I can only say that I do not see the Russian troops in Sarajevo in a very favorable light because they have undoubtedly been on the side of the aggressor over the past 22 months. It would be interesting to see what the situation would be like if soldiers from Afghanistan would have marched into Pale.

[Hochner] The NATO ultimatum is two days old now, the cease-fire in your city is holding. How are the people? Has anything changed in the city's supply situation over the past few days? Has it improved at all?

[Kresevljakovic] Yes, it has become somewhat easier, because you could not defend yourself against the shells. But the danger of snipers remains. I think that not much has changed about the blockade of the city. We are being supplied by air lifts, but this is not enough, neither for supplies, nor as far as the city infrastructure and transportation in the city are concerned.

[Hochner] Following the NATO ultimatum, the Serbs have withdrawn their heavy weapons. Do you think that the Serbs will also open access to your city and end the siege as easily? Or do you think that NATO air strikes will be necessary to achieve this?

[Kresevljakovic] This will depend on the kind of pressure. If the pressure is as efficient as this time, I think that they will also open the access roads.

[Hochner] Judging by your experience with NATO, do you think that this could be a model for ending the siege in the other cities held by the Muslims—Tuzla, Srebrenica, Gorazde?

[Kresevljakovic] This is one of the ways. But this solution would also have adverse effects. By the way the situation is currently developing in Sarajevo, I see a danger that the city might be divided once there are no more grenades. We might get a new Nicosia or Berlin. I think this would be a catastrophe for Europe and the whole world, because they would have had a direct role in this partition. If there is any city in the world for which a partition is unnatural, then it is Sarajevo.

[Hochner] Mr. Mayor, one last question: The war in and around your city has been going on for 22 months. Has anything changed in the cohabitation of Muslims, Croats, and Serbs? Or do you think that these three groups can go on living together in the city once the war is over?

[Kresevljakovic] I would like to explain this by way of an example. My cabinet, which has four members, still includes two Serbs. And they know just as well what happens in the city as I do. This means they know a lot. But they are very loyal.

[Hochner] Mr. Mayor, I thank you very much for coming and wish you and the people of Sarajevo all the best.

[Kresevljakovic] Thank you, Mr. Hochner.

### Herceg-Bosna Croats Choose Defense Minister

*LD2302152694 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in Serbo-Croatian 1400 GMT 23 Feb 94*

[Excerpt] It is almost totally quiet in Mostar today, while Muslim forces have continued with strong provocations and artillery attacks in central Bosnia. A new defense minister of Herceg-Bosna was appointed at the first session of the Presidential Council, the body which took over all duties of the president of the Croat republic of Herceg-Bosna. Zdenko Vranjes reporting for Croatian radio.

[Vranjes] Vladimir Soljic has been appointed new defense minister of the Croat republic of Herceg-Bosna. Former Minister Perica Jukic will remain one of the deputy prime ministers. Zeljko Obradovic has also been appointed new minister for land management and construction.

At the session in Mostar the Presidential Council decided to form an expert group to solve the Mostar situation. The group will nominate a team to take part in negotiations within the framework defined by the conclusions drawn up at the session of the Chamber of Deputies in Livno, whereby Mostar is the capital of the Croat republic of Herceg-Bosna. The Council accepted in principle the UN peace forces' request for their command for the southwestern sector to be stationed in the territory of Herceg-Bosna.

Presidential Council President Kresimir Zubak informed Council members about the course of the peace negotiations in Geneva and Frankfurt. Zubak had the following to say on the results of the latest Muslim-Croat agreements on a confederation of the Croat and Muslim parts of Bosnia-Herzegovina with the Republic of Croatia:

[Begin Zubak recording] We agreed on several issues. First, we agree that it is possible, and perhaps even desirable for the interests of both peoples, to organize Bosnia-Herzegovina as a union of the Croat and Muslim—that is, Bosniak Muslims—nations. We agree on that. We agree that we can organize that union, which will meet the rights and interests of both nations. We also agree that the state union should be formed as a composite state union. These are the principles.

We analyzed the principles in greater detail, but we have not yet reached accord on certain issues. Therefore, it is too early to speak about these things. But an important step is that both sides have decided that such a union is possible, that it is in the interests of both nations, that it must have a special relationship with the Republic of Croatia, and that the union must be set up so as to respect the national criterion in the internal organization of the state. That means that Bosnia-Herzegovina would be reorganized on the principle that there will be two or more federal units that will be set up by honoring first of all the national criterion as one of the criteria. [end recording]

[Vranjes] The command of the HVO [Croatian Defense Council] Vitez Brigade today reported that until 0400 last night, the Muslim army had shelled the center of the town of Vitez and all surrounding areas using mortar and howitzer shells of various calibers. The shelling of Vitez by the Muslim army this morning is only the continuation of yesterday's shelling when three civilians were wounded, including a five-year-old girl who luckily sustained only slight wounds. The shelling caused huge material damage to residential and industrial facilities. [passage omitted]

### Inter-Muslim Clashes in Western Bosnia

*LD2302160894 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1521 GMT 23 Feb 94*

[Text] Petrovac, 23 Feb (TANJUG)—According to the media in Velika Kladusa, members of the 5th Corps of the so-called Bosnia-Herzegovina army [loyal to Izetbegovic] have launched fierce attacks on positions held by the army of the autonomous province of Western Bosnia [loyal to Fikret Abdic] along the entire demarcation line.

According to both Velika Kladusa and Bihac, the fiercest clashes today took place in Trzacke Rastele and Pecigrad. Neither side has mentioned casualty tolls or changes in the frontlines.

Muslim radio in Bihac has appealed on several occasions today to supporters of Fikret Abdic to lay down their arms and place themselves at the disposal of the 5th Corps of Izetbegovic's army to defend the sovereignty and integrity of the Republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina.

### Tension Between Serbs, UN Said Increasing

*LD240[illegible]20294 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1033 GMT 24 Feb 94*

[Excerpt] Knin, 24 Feb (TANJUG)—By deploying more than 50 armored personnel carriers and approximately 1,500 soldiers around 0630 [0530 GMT] this morning UNPROFOR [UN Protection Forces] completely cordoned off all roads in western Slavonija bound for the Sava bridge between Stara Gradiska and [Bosanska] Gradiska.

In that way, as assistant minister of internal affairs of the republic of Serb Krajina, Nebojsa Pavkovic, told TANJUG, the western Slavonia area has been almost completely severed from the rest of the world and no longer has any connections with other Serb lands.

Members of the Krajina special police are still on the bridge and around it. Around 1100 [1000 GMT] this morning several hundred local citizens rallied in protest at the complete closure of all roads.

The special police units, as Pavkovic said, have been ordered to behave in such a way as not to provoke possible tension or conflict with the blue helmets. Because of the newly created situation, which has not shown any signs of normalization, a sharp protest has been lodged with UNPROFOR.

According to reports coming into the Krajina Ministry of Internal Affairs, members of the peacekeeping force today refused to let through a vehicle transporting bread to Okucani and there have been difficulties in organizing a funeral. In this respect UNPROFOR members yielded, but only after a long argument.

Talks between the Krajina authorities and UNPROFOR are expected to be held on the spot today in order to find a peaceful solution.

A delegation of the republic of Serb Krajina to these negotiations will be led by Vice President Branko Lubavac. [passage omitted]

### Danger of 'Open Clash'

*AU2402115394 Belgrade Radio Beograd Network in Serbo-Croatian 1100 GMT 24 Feb 94*

[Zeljko Mandic report]

[Text] Since last night Western Slavonija has been cut off from the rest of the world. During the course of the night members of the peace forces blocked key positions on the Okucani-Gradiska upon Sava road with armored personnel carriers and infantry, preventing pedestrians and vehicles from passing through, thus bringing the crisis that has emerged near the Sava bridge to its most extreme stage, one that threatens to become an open clash between the UN Protection Forces [UNPROFOR] and the Serbian people of Western Slavonija.

At this moment are 10 UN armored personnel carriers on the highway, near a place called Dubovacki Nadloznjak. When asked who ordered the latest show of force, sadly not the only one, the UNPROFOR members replied that this was the order of the peacekeepers' supreme command.

Let us recap, UNPROFOR command yesterday issued an ultimatum to the Krajina police to surrender control of the bridge on the Sava River that links the republic of Serbian Krajina [RSK] and the Serbian region of Western Slavonija with the Srpska republic to the UN forces. This deadline expires today.

The RSK government's ultimatum was that the members of the Jordanian, Nepalese, and Argentinian Battalions must withdraw their men and military hardware from the Okucani-Gradiska upon Sava road within 24 hours and this deadline expired at 1900 [1800 GMT] yesterday.

This latest action of violence by the Blue Berets has only complicated the already critical situation in Western Slavonija that has emerged in connection with control over the bridge on the Sava River linking Stara Gradiska and Gradiska upon Sava, which threatens to escalate and may result in clashes.

For the time being, we have not observed a concentration of new troops from other UN Protected Areas [UNPA] in the region, beside those who regrouped from some parts in UNPA Sector West. It has been learned, however, that there have been indications that the existing UNPROFOR troops in the crisis zone of Western Slavonija could be strengthened by additional forces.

### Granic Interviewed on Bosnia Negotiations

*LD2402014094 Zagreb HTV Television in Serbo-Croatian 2210 GMT 23 Feb 94*

[Phone-in interview with Mate Granic, Croatian deputy prime minister and minister of foreign affairs, by unidentifed correspondent, from Geneva; from the "Picture vs Picture" program—live]

[Text] [Correspondent] Good evening, Mr. Granic.

[Granic] Good evening.

[Correspondent] Could you briefly summarize the strenuous day that you have had today. Shall we start with your Bonn meeting?

[Granic] Maybe it is necessary to say that the day before, President Tudjman decided to inform some of the most important and influential European countries about our policy and problems that we faced during the negotiations in this very sensitive phase of the talks on the future of Bosnia-Herzegovina and the search for a lasting peace. The Bonn meeting passed in a friendly atmosphere in the course of which we informed Minister Kinkel about our standpoints in detail and also about all

the problems that exist at the moment in our negotiations with the Muslim side. I think that they showed full understanding for our stands.

[Correspondent] After that, you left for Rome where you had talks with your counterpart, Italian Foreign Minister Andreatta,.

[Granic] Right. Ten days ago, I paid an official visit to Italy. At that time, we discussed not only bilateral relations in detail, but also the situation in Bosnia-Herzegovina, the reintegration of UN-protected areas into Croatia's legal system. I briefed Minister Andreatta about all the problems and difficulties of this phase of negotiations, but also about the successes. As you already know, as it has most probably been made public, General Roso and General Delic have signed a cease-fire agreement. On the other hand, we have had intensive talks on finding a permanent peace between the Muslims and Croats and permanent solutions within Bosnia-Herzegovina, and of course, between Bosnia-Herzegovina and the Republic of Croatia. Likewise, we got several interesting suggestions, we believe that Italy will be able to considerably influence the position of the United States at this moment.

[Correspondent] Maybe it will be interesting to hear some details of the Vatican talks with Archbishop Jean-Louis Tauran.

[Granic] As you know, I also paid a visit to the Holy See where I was received by the holy father. I had long talks with Cardinal Sodano and Monsignor Tauran about all problems, particularly about all the humanitarian problems in Bosnia-Herzegovina, the suffering of the population, and also about political solutions. On that occasion, we received several very useful suggestions, and I conveyed some messages from President Tudjman to the holy father. That was a very useful and friendly meeting. At this moment, permanent communication with the Vatican is very important to us.

[Correspondent] My colleague, Jozo Curic, told me earlier on the phone that you had a phone conversation with your Austrian counterpart, Foreign Minister Alois Mock.

[Granic] Minister Mock is a great friend of Croatia, but also of the Muslim side. This is very favorable in this phase of negotiations. He was interested in obtaining first-hand information about the current situation. Of course, he is constantly ready to help both sides, and I think he will be able to offer considerable help in this phase of negotiations.

[Correspondent] Can you give us an overall assessment of all these meetings today. Actually, what have the commentaries on the latest Russian initiatives, and the stepped-up U.S. involvement in this area been like?

[Granic] Globally speaking, there have been positive assessments of America's heightened interest in restoring permanent peace and, of course, reaching a lasting solution between the Croats and Muslims. But on the other hand, in all the meetings our hosts expressed understanding for the stands of the Republic of Croatia.

[Correspondent] And in conclusion, please tell us about your participation in the session of the Commission for Human Rights in Geneva tomorrow. What are you going to speak about?

[Granic] I will speak about the observance of human rights in the Republic of Croatia and openly about problems that we have faced over the past three years, about missing persons, about all the problems of war and suffering, and also openly about all other problems in connection with human rights, about the protection of human rights.

[Correspondent] Mr. Granic, thank you very much for replying to our call despite the strenuous day that you have had.

[Granic] Thank you.

## Tudjman Apologizes in Open Letter to B'nai B'rith

*AU2302114494 Rijeka NOVI LIST in Serbo-Croatian 18 Feb 94 p 3*

[HINA report on Tudjman's letter to Kent Shiner, president of B'nai B'rith: "I Greatly Admire the Jewish People"]

[Text] Zagreb (HINA)—We are releasing a translation of the letter from President of the Republic of Croatia Franjo Tudjman to Kent Schiner, president of the largest Jewish organization in the world, B'nai B'rith.

Kresimir Cosic, minister plenipotentiary at the Croatian Embassy in the United States, delivered President Tudjman's letter to Mr. Kent Schiner on 14 February at the Croatian Embassy. The letter reads as follows:

Dear Mr. Schiner,

In the early 1980's, I wrote an extensive dissertation on the history of evil and violence entitled *The Enormity of Historical Reality*. At the time, I could not publish my work, for I was a political prisoner and I criticized the authorities. Only when former Yugoslavia started to disintegrate, when the communist society fell apart, when new democracies were founded and republics gained independence—only then could I publish that work, this time as the president of the first internationally recognized Republic of Croatia.

Since it was first published in 1989, *The Enormity of Historical Reality* triggered strong and, unfortunately, negative reactions by some members of the international Jewish community. I was deeply hurt by those reactions and they made me reexamine my statements and reevaluate parts of the book in which I quoted documents and personal views of some writers or of people who participated in those events.

Since *The Enormity of Historical Reality* was published, about four years ago, I had the opportunity or, better yet, I have been trying to get to know, as thoroughly as possible, and become involved in the Croatian and international Jewish community, in order to gain an insight into its needs, culture, and history, its hopes and fears. That lasting contact broadened my horizons and I now know much more than I did years ago when I was writing the book as a persecuted dissident. I greatly admire the Jewish people, their strength and fight for independence and freedom, which equals that of the Croatian people. Especially regarding our developing relations and my increasingly better understanding of the Jewish people, I appreciate the harm that certain parts of the book could cause and the misunderstanding it could cause. I would, therefore, like to offer my apology, both as the president of the new, independent state that wants to develop a solid and lasting friendship with the Jewish people, but also as a man who wants to contribute to that by means of this apology. Consequently, I have decided to delete those controversial parts from my book, which is soon to be published in English. This particularly refers to wording that I now consider inappropriate, whether because it indicates a lack of sensibility, because it is based on sources that were later proved unreliable, or because their overall impression arouses prejudice against the Jewish people, and that has never been my intention. I shall continue to take into account the needs of the Croatian Jewish community and work toward a better understanding of the Jewish communities and the Republic of Croatia, as I have been doing since I was elected president of the Republic of Croatia.

## Owen, Stoltenberg Arrive in Zagreb for Talks

*LD2302151294 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in Serbo-Croatian 1400 GMT 23 Feb 94*

[Report by correspodent Tihomir Vinkovic]

[Text] Kofi Annan, under secretary for UN peace operations, has arrived in Zagreb.

[Begin Annan recording, in English with superimposed Serbo-Croatian translation] I am here to visit Mr. Akashi and for a review with him and the commanders of the UN operation in this theater. [end recording]

Shortly afterwards, peace mediators Owen and Stoltenberg landed at Zagreb airport. This is going to be a regular meeting of the cochairmen and the UN secretary general's special envoy. Mr. Annan will also take part in today's meeting, Stoltenberg said. Asked by a reporter about his opinion on the U.S. initiative for rapprochement between the Muslims and Croatia, Stoltenberg said:

[Begin Stoltenberg recording, in English with superimposed Serbo-Croatian translation] The United States, Russia, and the EU are active in the political and diplomatic process. Progress in the talks is of vital importance. [end recording]

## Commentary Views Latest U.S. Initiative

*AU2302131094 Rijeka NOVI LIST in Serbo-Croatian 16 Feb 94 p 2*

[Drazen Vukov-Colic commentary: "The U.S. Diplomatic Renaissance"]

[Text] They could hardly wait for it in Moscow, the Europeans are delighted, and the conflicting sides in Bosnia-Herzegovina must finally realize that, in this bloody game, not everything can remain the same after all. This is a short summary of the main reactions to the U.S. "diplomatic renaissance," without which no progress could be expected, regardless of the outcome of the Western military ultimatum. Discussions and negotiations should be held both before and after the bombs, and these possible bombs have also been taken out of the last diplomatic safe: The Serbs are expected to make the most concessions, and, after sanctions, they had to be threatened with the largest stick. "Everybody agreed that the final end to this war must be agreed upon at the negotiating table," stated Peter Tarnoff, Warren Cristopher's assistant for political issues, who, along with envoy Charles Redman, is, on the U.S. side, in charge of a new gathering of the Western allies and the restoration of the Bosnian negotiations.

Madelaine Albright talked of this as the main message of the NATO ultimatum at the Security Council, in the evident attempt to appease the Russians and encourage the Serbs who support a peaceful solution. What is it that is real and new, since everything sounds so familiar? Washington and Europe have finally agreed upon a joint approach, and once the White House gets into something with someone else, it has to lead. In this list of immediate tasks, Europe and Moscow had to give up the idea that a larger carrot (suspension of the sanctions) could curb the Serb appetites, and Washington agreed—at least ostensibly—to press its Muslim proteges. They must finally be satisfied with "reasonable demands," instead of constantly making the list of their wishes longer. Charles Redman therefore quickly went to Sarajevo, so that it could be firmly determined once and for all what kind of Bosnia and how much Bosnia for themselves the Muslims support. Immediately following these talks, the Serbs and Croats will be offered a kind of final menu that will not be based on the blackmailing principle of "take it or leave it," but would nevertheless be something that it is almost impossible to refuse, since "they would have to realize"—says Tarnoff—"that behind everything this time lies the unity and the common purpose of Europe and the United States."

What about Croatia? Even Peter Tarnoff admits that Washington and Brussels have yet to agree upon a common approach to this issue. Germany has reappeared on the stage as the illegitimate foster parent of its naughty foundling, which it long ago sent into punishment, but still opposes someone else slapping it. In all this, Bonn can also expect new headaches at the constant diplomatic carousel that, in the Croatian public, turns

Klaus Kinkel into a torturer at one moment and a savior at another. In a somewhat more extensive answer to the question of what this unachieved joint Western policy toward Croatia could look like, Tarnoff answered cautiously, but still threateningly: "We are aware of the need to resolve the issue of the Krajinas, and we know that Croatia is playing a very important role in the final (Bosnian) agreement. Croatia can profit a lot from the agreement, taking into account its economic situation resulting from a great number of war refugees. However, if it is not capable of playing a useful role, it could be put under pressure."

Everything Mario Nobilo said at the Security Council was based on the attempt to make the world see that Croatia is more yielding, peacemaking, and prepared for all negotiations. Certain "elements" of the Croatian Army will be withdrawn. Zagreb and Sarajevo jointly signed the request for the international control of their borders, and soon a real Croat-Muslim ceasefire can be expected. The Sarajevo Ambassador Muhamed Sacirbey did not attack Zagreb at the Security Council (he and Nobilo are even friends), which should show that it is easier to breathe after Mate Boban. However, at the same time all the media talk of great military successes of the HVO [Croatian Defense Council], and some foreign sources claim that the Croat forces—aided by "elements" of the Croatian Army—had started an unprecedented attack at Gornji Vakuf. Each negotiation is thus first announced at the frontlines by suicidal attempts to secure as strong territorial maps as possible for the negotiating table, and in that case even Mario Nobilo is not able to conceal the terrible reality by well-formulated papers. Many will say that Peter Tarnoff spoke in an unusually mild way about Croatia, but the best informed still know that because of these attempts to retrieve at least part of what was so irresponsibly lost in central Bosnia, Zagreb could be forced to sacrifice part of the so crucial sea as early as the following day. Because, with the Americans, everything is both easier and more difficult at the same time.

## Dismissal of B-H Envoy; New Envoy Expected

*AU2202203894 Zagreb VJESNIK in Serbo-Croatian 19 Feb 94 p 8*

[Article by S. Zvizdic: "Changes at the Head of the Embassy of Bosnia-Herzegovina?"]

[Text] We have learned from a reliable source that Bisera Turkovic, the first ambassador of Bosnia-Herzegovina to Croatia, will probably not hold that office any longer. It is claimed at the Embassy of Bosnia-Herzegovina in Zagreb that Ambassador Turkovic "has left for a holiday abroad, which will last for several weeks," but it is not stated why she left.

It seems that her successor is already known. It could be Mr. Neven Kulenovic, who is already the charge d'affairs at the Embassy of Bosnia-Herzegovina in Zagreb.

According to the information that we have, it seems that Ambassador Turkovic has left for Australia after returning from Sarajevo several days ago. We have also learned that Mrs. Turkovic came to Zagreb directly from Australia on 25 March 1993 in order to present her credentials to the Croatian president.

It can hardly be believed that this is not a feigned journey because there is no justification for the absence of the ambassador at a moment when important things are going on in Bosnia-Herzegovina and when negotiations between Bosnia-Herzegovina and Croatia are starting.

It is difficult to predict whether the dismissal of Ambassador Turkovic will influence Bosnia-Herzegovina policy toward Croatia. We have learned, however, that the Sarajevo leadership has on several occasions blamed the ambassador for her alleged inactivity in diplomatic communications and her lack of initiative.

Bisera Turkovic was born in Sisak [Croatia], where she lived until the age of 18. Then she moved to Zagreb where she graduated from Law School. After that she practiced as a lawyer in Sarajevo. In the trial against the Sarajevo intellectuals in 1984 she was mentioned as one of the participants, and she left Yugoslavia that same year. She lived in Australia and completed her postgraduate studies of criminology there. She returned to Bosnia-Herzegovina in March 1992, two months before the war started, and stayed in Sarajevo until the autumn of 1992. She was an activist in the Party of Democratic Action. She has three children.

### Gligorov Willing To Negotiate With UN, EU

*AU2302174794 Paris AFP in English 1718 GMT 23 Feb 94*

[By Jasmina Mironski]

[Text] Skopje, Feb 23 (AFP)—Macedonia [The Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia—FYROM] said Wednesday it would be willing to return to the negotiating table to end an economic blockade imposed against it by Athens over a name dispute between the two countries.

Macedonian President Kiro Gligorov's office said after he met with a delegation from the European Union that the talks could be held "under the auspices of the United Nations and with the help of the European Union."

The EU delegation headed by European Commissioner for Foreign Relations Hans van den Broek was to relay the Macedonian offer to Greek authorities who broke off negotiations on the dispute last October.

Van den Broek said he would meet Greek Foreign Minister Karolos Papoulias later Wednesday and Greek Prime Minister Andreas Papandreou the following day. He hinted that he may then return to Skopje for further discussions.

Van den Broek stressed that it was essential to end the dispute between the two countries to avoid an escalation of the conflict, which has irked Greece's EU partners who have threatened to haul Athens before the European Court of Justice.

"Both sides are aware they they are living in a dangerous part of the world," van den Broek said. "And good neighboring relations between Athens and Skopje are a prerequisite to prevent an escalation in the region."

Greece announced on February 16 that it was blocking all trade to Macedonia through the northern Greek port of Salonika, which handles most of the country's imports including oil.

Athens justified the move by citing Macedonia's "continual provocations and growing irredentist intransigence" and by claiming that the former Yugoslav republic has territorial ambitions in the northern Greek province of the same name.

Earlier Wednesday Papoulias said that Athens wishes to have good relations with its neighbor but the latter must accept the "logical" demands made by the Greek Government.

The demands call for "Skopje", the name Athens uses to designate Macedonia, to stop "hostile propaganda" against Greece, to remove from its national flag a sun symbol that reflects the ancient Greek dynasty of Macedonia and to remove a constitutional clause calling for the liberation of Macedonia.

Meanwhile, Belgium Wednesday, in an apparent affront to Athens over the seemingly endless dispute, recognized The Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia, the provisional name given it pending a resolution of the conflict.

Six other EU countries recognised Macedonia before Greece took over the Union's revolving six-month presidency in January.

### Turkey Ready To Help

*AU2302183294 Skopje MILS-NEWS in English 23 Feb 94*

[Unattributed report: "Gligorov Talks With Demirel on Phone"]

[Text] Macedonian [The Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia—FYROM] President Kiro Gligorov, during his yesterday telephone conversation with the President of the Republic of Turkey Suleyman Demirel, discussed the newly emerged situation after Greece closed its border. The Turkish president expressed readiness to help Macedonia in coping with problems resulting from the Greek embargo.

### Ministry Denies Name Compromise

*AU2302150794 Skopje MILS-NEWS in English 23 Feb 94*

[Unattributed report: "Foreign Ministry Demand"]

[Text] The Macedonian [The Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia—FYROM] Foreign Ministry categorically refuted the France Press news on an alleged statement by Minister Crvenkovski during February 21 talks with the Netherlands counterpart Kooijmans, on Macedonia being ready to seek a compromise on the name issue, regardless of the latest trading embargo enforced by Athens. It is obvious that the word "not" is omitted after the word "Macedonia," without which the sentence makes no logical sense. Crvenkovski had explicitly stated in The Hague that Macedonia is ready to continue the negotiations with Greece, regardless of the Greek trading blockade imposed on Macedonia, the Foreign Ministry underlined.

### Denar Expected To Remain Stable

*AU2302183494 Skopje MILS-NEWS in English 23 Feb 94*

[Unattributed report: "Denar Remains Stable"]

[Text] The 22 percent January inflation rate presents a deviation from the planned 8 percent one. The National Bank informs on a 1.5 percent January increase of the primary emission of cash, and predicts a possible 18 percent further increase in the first quarter of the year. The Bank will remain strictly on the planned projection, and this month's inflation rate is expected to be under the level planned with the stabilization program.

Owing to the restrictive policies and the increased supply of hard currency on the market, the denar can be expected to keep its stable course in reference to foreign currencies.

## Serbia

### Sainovic Views Prime Minister-Elect, Economy

*AU2302205094 Belgrade RTB Television Network in Serbo-Croatian 1830 GMT 23 Feb 94*

[Interview with Nikola Sainovic, deputy prime minister of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, by Mirjana Jevtic in Belgrade on 23 February—recorded]

[Text] [Jevtic] Mr. Sainovic, you spent over a year as Serbia's prime minister. During that time the new stabilization program has been implemented. How would you comment on the fact that Mr. Mirko Marjanovic will take up your job?

[Sainovic] Briefly, I can express great satisfaction that a man with such experience and such results in the economy—which Mr. Marjanovic has behind him—will be in a position to form a government of national unity in the Republic of Serbia. I am convinced that the program will be in safe hands—to put it that way—in the Republic of Serbia and that it will certainly produce results.

[Jevtic] You are going from the Serbian Government to the Federal Government as deputy prime minister with a very concrete and special task. You will be the coordinator of the entire program for the reconstruction of the monetary system and the recovery of our economy. What are your exact tasks?

[Sainovic] I am deeply aware of the significant responsibility for the realization of the program and the coordination of all the subjects that participate in its realization. The program is not only of the Federal Government, because the National Bank and the Payment Operations Services also participate in it. Both republics, the economy, and the association of all these subjects for a synchronized operation is a very important task, and that will be the essence of my everyday work. I am convinced that all the subjects involved in this will simply justify the huge confidence that the people already have in the new dinar and this program, and that this confidence is in effect the measure of my responsibility.

### Marjanovic To Form Unity Government

*AU2302204294 Belgrade RTB Television Network in Serbo-Croatian 1830 GMT 23 Feb 94*

[Interview with Mirko Marjanovic, Serbian prime minister-elect, by Dusko Petrovic in Belgrade on 23 February—recorded]

[Text] [Petrovic] Mr. Marjanovic, let me first congratulate you on the mandate you have been given by Serbian President Slobodan Milosevic to form a new government. What will your first move as prime minister elect be?

[Marjanovic] My first step will be to form a government of national unity, as the president clearly said. In order to do that, we have to conduct consultations with the party leaders to find the experts who will bear the burden of the entire program for the recovery of Serbia.

It is also well known that several strategic moments have been envisaged earlier, and we will keep them in mind in the implementation of this program. These are the struggle for peace, the struggle for the economic recovery of the country, and the struggle for a stable and legal state, within which we will also keep in mind the fight against crime.

As for the program itself, I believe that it has been accepted in a way in the country, by the public, and I think that this program has been devised by our best experts. It is not a one-party program, it is not marked by any color. Everything that has been done so far on the realization of the program has yielded positive results. There are some problems but we will deal with those. So, when all is said and done, I will face the assembly as the prime minister elect with a clear program and measures for the implementation of this program.

[Petrovic] The government of national unity will be comprised of experts, expert economists.

[Marjanovic] Yes, we will try and find the people who are the best in their line of work.

### Tuzla Airport Should Be Opened for NATO Needs

*AU2302211894 Belgrade RTB Television Network in Serbo-Croatian 1830 GMT 23 Feb 94*

[Commentary by Milovan Drecun]

[Text] The airports in Sarajevo, Tuzla, and Mostar are of strategic and tactical importance for NATO. One of the most important operative-strategic directions from central Europe to the Adriatic Sea goes from Subotica-Novi Sad-Zupanja-Tuzla-Sarajevo-Mostar-Port of Ploce. That was also one of the most important and sensitive directions for the defense of the former Yugoslavia. That direction is not only the shortest but also allows great possibilities for high-speed advancement from central Europe toward the sea and vice versa. The most important part of the defense along this direction is in the wider region of Tuzla, which is a significant mining and industrial center in the former Bosnia-Herzegovina. The Gornje Dubrave airport was built by the former Yugoslav People's Army in order to provide effective support for ground troops.

That direction is still very important not only for NATO but also for the FRY [Federal Republic of Yugoslavia]. The presence of 1,350 members of the UN Protection Forces [UNPROFOR], who have Leopard tanks, in the Tuzla enclave shows that, due to NATO interests, UNPROFOR wants to concentrate military potential in that region, primarily for military purposes. It is obvious that the Gornje Dubrave airport is meant to be opened for NATO needs since it has a better location than the

airport in Sarajevo, which is in a valley and frequently engulfed in fog, and the one in Mostar, which is rather far from the FRY.

The central location of the Dubrave airport enables an effective control of the air space not only over the former Bosnia-Herzegovina but also over the FRY, and enables the effective control of the crossings over the Drina River. Also, the use of the UNPROFOR ground forces, or the Muslim formations in that region, for a possible spring offensive—which the Muslims have been announcing—could completely cut off Semberija from the Bosnian Krajina and the republic of Serbian Krajina, that is, it could cut off the corridor.

The airports in Tuzla, Sarajevo, and Mostar are very important for safeguarding air communications, with which U.S. and West European forces for fast intervention could be transported into the regions of protruding deployment of forces [as heard] in Albania and Macedonia, where the forces for quick intervention in crisis spots are based.

The announced opening of the Gornje Dubrave airport has justifiably caused suspicions among the Serb leadership, and not only because of the possible arming of the Muslims but also because of possible military operations on the ground aimed at cutting off the largest part of the Srpska republic and the republic of Serbian Krajina from the FRY.

## Kosovo

### Police Raid, Harass Ethnic Albanians

*AU2302205994 Tirana Radio Tirana Network in Albanian 1430 GMT 23 Feb 94*

[Text] The Albanian villages in Vushtrri commune have long been placed under strict police control. Reports confirm that the people in these villages live under conditions of complete siege, and that in every moment they are subject to checks and maltreatment by the Serbian police that this time do not hesitate to beat, raid, and arrest Albanians in the streets and everywhere they are.

Reports from Vushtrri inform that during the last two months, the Serbian police raided and harassed more than 60 Albanian families in Shtanoc in Poshtem village. Raids and massive harassments have been conducted in Zhilivol village. Last week, under the pretext of searching for arms, the Serbian police raided 13 families in Kacibek village in Podujeve. The police terror continues to escalate.